THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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VOL. XV NO. 25 SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1976 25¢



Inside

Others Knew, Garry Files For New Trial

S. Q. 6 JUROR REVEALS HATRED OF B.P.P.

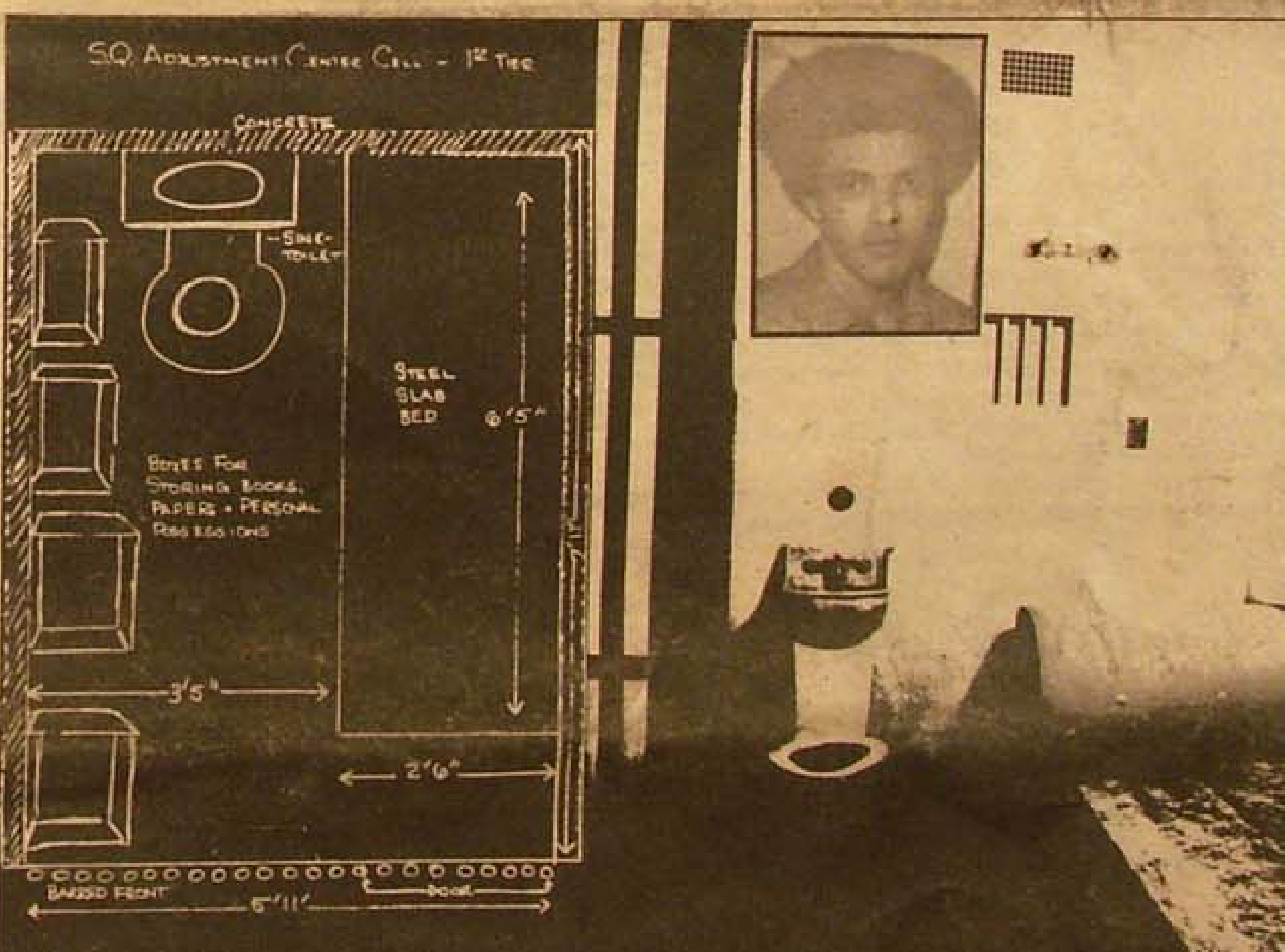


Diagram and photo of San Quentin Adjustment Center cell. Because of a San Quentin Six trial juror's hatred of the Black Panther Party, defendant JOHNNY SPAIN (inset), a Black Panther Party member, was sentenced to serve 23 hours a day in such a cell for the next 2[illegible] years.

(San Rafael, Calif.) — Evidence of a conspiracy by the jury in the San Quentin 6 case — spearheaded by the personal vendetta of a bitter woman juror — directed against the Black Panther Party in general and defendant Johnny Larry Spain in particular, was revealed in a supplemental motion for a new trial filed last week by attorney Charles Garry.

According to the motion and attached declaration from the noted BPP chief counsel, during the initial jury selection juror Patricia Fagan failed to disclose her extreme bias and negative attitudes towards: (1) the Black Panther Party; (2) testimony by psychologists and psychiatrists; (3) the use of a psychiatric defense by defendants.

When Fagan did reveal certain of her prejudices to presiding trial judge Henry Broderick, the motion charges that Broderick perpetuated the cover-up by never once mentioning her admission to the attorneys for the defense.

Compounding the infractions, the motion reveals that Fagan told her fellow jurors — 11 Whites, one Black — of her hatred for the Black Panther Party *during the course of the trial*, but that not one of the jurors or alternates reported this to those responsible for ensuring a fair trial.

Garry's legal action both calls for a new trial on these grounds and seeks the disqualification of Judge Broderick from ruling on the motion.

Filed in Marin Superior Court on Friday,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

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Editorial

GET RID OF DAVIS

The release last week of the long-awaited report by the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) on the living conditions in the San Antonio Housing Project belies the self-serving distortions and outright lies of Oakland Housing Authority (OHA) Executive Director Harold Davis.

As reported in this week's paper (see page 5), HUD has given the OHA 30 days to submit a timeable for upgrading the deteriorating Villa, and has criticized OHA operations in the project in several areas.

Indeed, much of the HUD report contradicts an OHA report, written by Davis, which blames area residents for their problems. It is interesting, therefore, that at a Housing Authority Board of Commissioners meeting this past Monday, September 27, that Davis would outright reject the HUD recommendation that "resident assistant" positions be established to improve communications between tenants and the OHA. This approach, Davis contends, "could well intensify problems rather than decrease them."

In reality, the only "problems" that might be intensified would be that, as "resident assistants," San Antonio tenants would become privy to the arbitrary arrogance and personal corruption perpetuated by Davis under the guise of being "Black" and "executive director." Sad to say, but all-too-true, the upgrading of certain "Blacks" to "positions of responsibility" creates Frankenstein monsters; "Blacks" who attack and disrespect their own people worse that Whites ever could. Unfortunately for the Black residents of Oakland public housing, Harold Davis is just that type of disgraceful fool.

For example, when San Antonio residents, led by Elaine Brown, went down to an OHA Board meeting to present their grievances, Davis never once looked their way or addressed them eye-to-eye. On another occasion, just a few weeks later, Davis adamently refused to enter the Villa's dilapidated "recreation" center — "What do I need to go in there for?" he sneered — only doing so when the residents' response began to get quite ugly.

It's high time that men like Davis — and, fortunately, there aren't all that many — were removed from their positions on the glory throne and were reminded what being Black is all about: *I am We, remember!*



THE NIGGERS DIDN'T GO FOR IT!

Letters to the Editor

LIBERATION SUPPORT MOVEMENT SENDS THANKS

Dear Black Panther Comrades,

Thank you kindly for printing the SWAPO Printshop Project article. We really appreciate you're giving it the full page, and adding the graphic and coupon. Your support is gratefully received, and we consider it a direct contribution to the Namibian liberation struggle. The article has already generated many donations, and we anticipate more.

Work on the Project is going well. Our fund is now up to $9,000, nearing our November goal of $10,000 which enables us to send off most of the equipment. Between now and March, we aim to raise $20,000 more. Our campaign plans include a North American tour of a SWAPO woman militant and coordinated fundraising efforts with other left groups building toward a national campaign to "contribute a day's wages" in the Spring. These activities will be supplemented by a healthy media campaign. With increasing pressure on SWAPO toward neocolonial accommodation, it is important that the movement receive significant moral, political, and concrete support. Articles in the left press, such as those you have been printing, play an important role in this process. We are now writing up an article on SWAPO's last congress, the Kissinger settlement, and the necessity for international solidarity for publication in the left press. We are also producing some SWAPO posters, proceeds of which go (of course) towards the Project. Don't forget to see our upcoming LSM NEWS special on Namibia!

Though we're just beginning our campaign, things are going well. We thank you again and hope to be able to collaborate more in the future.

For the Revolution,
Lori Barnett
SWAPO Printshop Project,
Liberation Support Movement

P.S. Please note that we are now coordinating the project from the Bay Area, so if you wish to contact us, or print anything further, please use the address:

LSM Bay Area Unit
P.O. Box 756
Berkeley, Calif. 94701

(See page 18.)

PROTEST CRAEMEN GETHERS/EARL BROWN FRAME-UP

Dear Black Panther,

Craemen Gethers and Earl Brown are two Black students at the University of Mass., Amherst, who have been falsely arrested and convicted for allegedly robbing a McDonald's in summer, 1974. Their first trial resulted in a hung jury. For their 2nd trial they were separated. Craemen was sentenced to 8-12 years in Norfolk prison despite the account of many witnesses that he was on crutches at the time of the robbery. Craemen has been locked up for well over a year now. The racist judge has turned down his bid for a third trial this week.

Earl Brown was active in the Black student community and a U. Mass. football player. He was able to get a 3-5 year sentence and work-release to attend U. Mass. only because of a large community movement that developed around his case through the work of a defense committee.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

COMMENT

The Black Family Revisited

The following comment, a carefully constructed, factual argument affirming — in the face of constant detractors — the historical role of the Black family, is written by Herbert G. Gutman, visiting professor of history at the College of William and Mary, in Williamsburg, Virginia. Gutman is the author of the forthcoming The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925.

"The contempt we have been taught to entertain for the Blacks makes us fancy many things that are founded neither in reason or in experience," Alexander Hamilton said nearly 200 years ago.

That remains true, especially in very mistaken ideas about the slave family and the generations of poor Black families since Emancipation, in 1865. Such myths inevitably affect how urban poverty is explained and policies to control or abolish it are defined.

The litany defining the poor urban Black family in 1976 is familiar: Sustained by a "culture of poverty" that emphasizes resignation and helplessness, it is "deviant," "matriarchal," "broken," "unstable," and "pathological." Relatively few households contain nuclear families: a husband and wife and their children. Men are "emasculated." "Illegitimacy" thrives among women. Rootless children mature without aspirations.

Such views often describe all the poor, White and Black. But for poor Blacks this alleged "culture" retains a tenacious hold because of the legacy of slavery. It all began with the supposed inability of slaves to sustain durable families.

The belief that slavery shattered the Afro-American family is not new but was widely popularized and invoked in public-policy discussions by Daniel Patrick Moynihan in *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (1965). "It was by destroying the Negro family under slavery," that report said, "that White Americans broke the will of the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

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SCANT EVIDENCE OF EPIDEMIC

Lack Of Insurance Delays "Swine Flu" Program

(San Francisco, Calif.) - This city's "swine flu" immunization program received a setback last week when local officials announced that insurance for the program would not be available until October 1.

Meanwhile, President Ford's plan to immunize every American adult against the dreaded swine flu—thought but not proved to be related to the flu virus that killed a half a million Americans in 1918 — is in serious trouble reports the *Great Speckled Bird*, published by the Atlanta Co-operative News Project.

Insurance companies, fearing unforeseen risks from use of the swine flu vaccine, have refused to insure its manufacturers. And now a barrage of critics — including one of the doctors who discovered the virus, a senior researcher for the government agency that monitors vaccine safety, and the head of the Public Citizen's Health Research Group — are charging that:

•There is only the scantiest evidence that a swine flu epidemic will occur.

•Most of the deaths attributed to the 1918 outbreak resulted not from the virus but from secondary complications that today are routinely treated with antibiotics.

•Even those who discovered the new virus acknowledge it is no more virulent than other recent flu strains that have not required costly mass immunizations.

•Vaccination science is still primitive, mass immunizations are perilous and vaccines must be tested extensively for dangerous side effects. As recently as 1955 a faulty polio vaccine killed ten and infected 192 others with paralytic polio.

The swine flu scare began last winter when Georgia health authorities conducting a routine check on a flu could not identify the type of virus in some of the blood samples. They alerted the U.S. Center for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta, where scientists announced in late February that the mystery virus — now called A-New Jersey — resembled one that causes influenza in pigs.

Because almost all survivors of the worldwide epidemic of 1918

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

BLACK LEADERS ANNOUNCE GROVE-SHAFTER VICTORY

Praise Elaine Brown's Contributions, Pledge Fight For Jobs

(Oakland, Calif.) - Victory vibes filled the room at a freewheeling press conference here last week as four local Black community leaders happily confirmed an "historic breakthrough" in construction plans for the vital Grove-Shafter Freeway while pledging to continue their successful united efforts until full guarantees on jobs for local residents are obtained from business and city officials.

Participating in the hastily called gathering were: John George, an Oakland attorney and candidate for the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, Fifth District seat; Paul Cobb, executive director of the Oakland Citizens' Committee for Urban Renewal (OCCUR); Elijah Turner, a longtime activist in the Oakland Black Caucus; and Elaine Brown, chairperson of the Black Panther Party.



BPINS photo

Oakland Black community leaders (left to right) PAUL COBB, JOHN GEORGE, ELAINE BROWN and ELIJAH TURNER at press conference on Grove-Shafter Freeway victory.

FESTIVE MOOD

Cause for the festive mood came only hours earlier when the group learned that not only did state Director of Transportation Adriana Gianturco intend to sanction "favorable action" on funding for the missing three-quarters of a mile freeway stretch, but that her recommendation would exceed previous estimations.

Instead of the approximately $14 million originally recommended, the four Black leaders said Ms. Gianturco would recommend between $18.5 and $24.5 million for the Grove-Shafter in the fiscal 1979 budget, with the "strong possibility" that the long-delayed freeway — the vital "gap" linking the proposed downtown City Center project with the suburban commuter market — could begin as early as 1978. (On Saturday, September 25, the State Highway Commission added $2.3 million to Ms. Gianturco's proposal of $21.8 million, increasing Grove-Shafter's allocation to $24.1 million.)

At the press conference, the foursome happily took credit for the breakthrough — mentioning the role played by Judge Lionel Wilson as well — with special praise lavished upon Elaine Brown for leading a delegation of grassroots community activists to Sacramento to re-establish Governor Jerry Brown's commitment to the project. The delegation stressed to the governor the 10,000 much-needed jobs that will result from a revitalization of downtown Oakland.

From their comments to the press, guarantees and commitments for concrete jobs — not increased sales and profits — remain uppermost in their concerns:

ELAINE BROWN: "... At this point, we will now nominate ourselves as a kind of 'watchdog force' to guarantee that (Mayor) John Reading and the rest of the people who, at this time, are officials of the city of Oakland, keep their commitment to the people (for jobs).

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

MEMORIAL RALLY



ON NOVEMBER 7, 1976
TYRONE GUYTON
WOULD HAVE BEEN
18-YEARS-OLD

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1:30 p.m.– 5:00 p.m.
AT THE
OAKLAND COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTER
6118 E. 14TH STREET

SPEAKERS (PARTIAL LIST)

- Mrs. Mattie Shepherd — MOTHER OF TYRONE GUYTON
- John George — CANDIDATE, ALAMEDA COUNTY BD. OF SUPERVISORS
- Rev. Michael Dunn — ELMHURST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
- Elaine Brown — CHAIRPERSON, BLACK PANTHER PARTY
- Alphonso Galloway — EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NAACP
- Thomas Broome — CHARLES HOUSTON LAW CLUB
- Andrea Benavidez — SISTER OF JOSE BARLOW BENAVIDEZ

REPRESSION IN CALIFORNIA YOUTH FACILITY SPARKS REBELLION

14 Youths Escape, 13 Recaptured

(Chino, Calif.) — Fourteen inmates escaped briefly from the Ontario Training Facility — a California Youth Authority (CYA) facility — here last week after over 200 prisoners staged a short-lived rebellion.

The revolt started when 21-year-old inmate Jordan Flagg allegedly overpowered two guards who were answering a sick call in a holding cell. According to correctional officials, Flagg then took the guards' cell door keys and ran through the prison opening cell doors.

Once out of the cells, over 200 inmates, aged 16 to 24, released their pent-up hostilities by rioting throughout the prison compound until they were surrounded by over 300 police, sheriff's deputies and state authorities.

During the disturbance, 14 inmates managed to escape by scaling a 14-foot high fence. Some ran into a nearby cornfield but were trapped when the field was surrounded and a giant mechanical corn-cutter was brought in. Others, half-clothed, were captured running through a residential area or in nearby Ontario or attempting to hitchhike. One youth, however, has still managed to evade capture.

INMATE FLAGG

When inmate Flagg, whom authorities have labeled a "troublemaker," was captured, a news reporter asked him why he escaped. Flagg replied, "It's human nature to escape capitivity. Can you think of a better reason?"

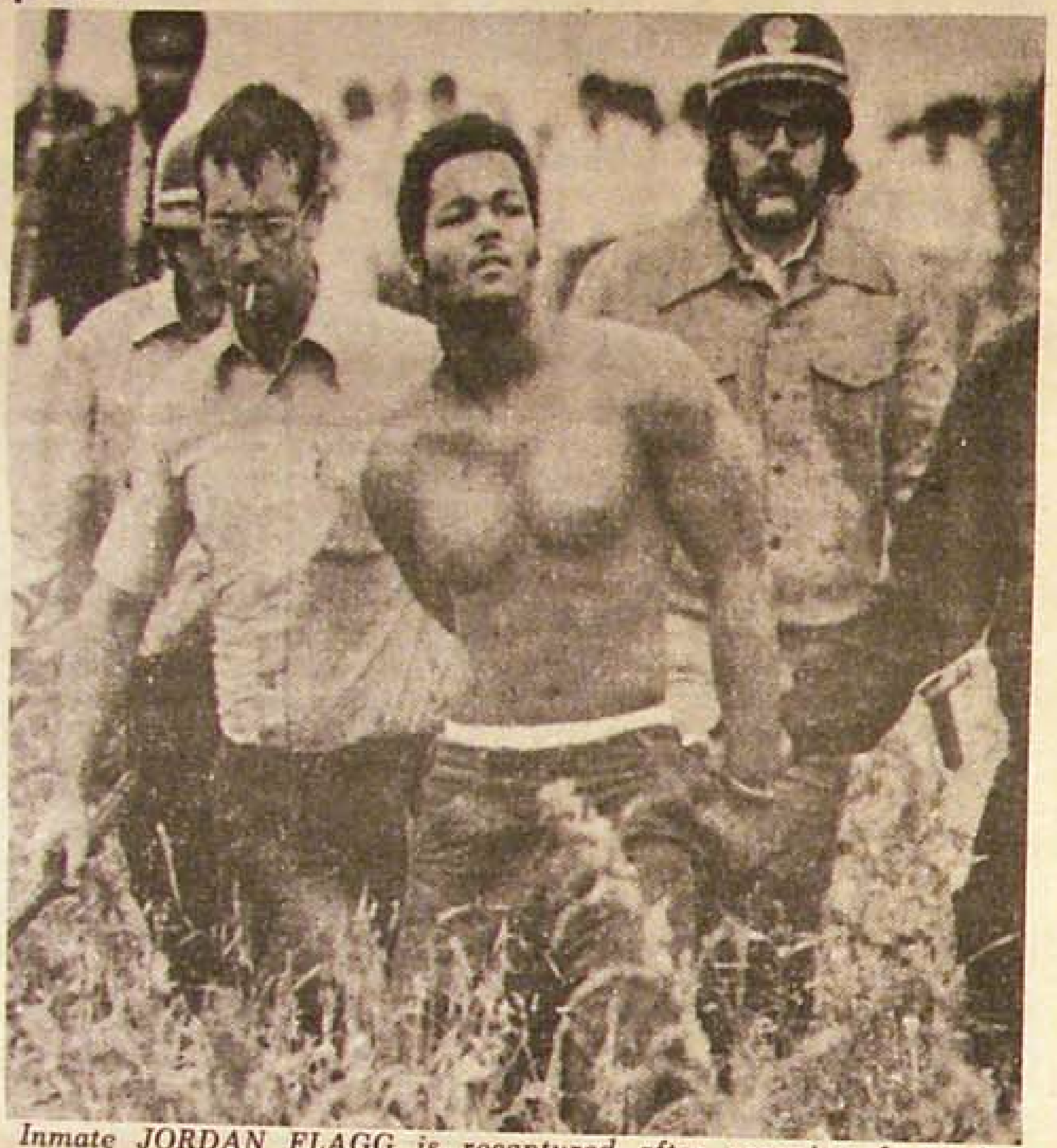
During the riot and jailbreak one supervising guard, Gary Cauble, was severely beaten while another guard, Tabiri Tabauri, was locked in a closet. Cauble's life was saved by four inmates who protected him during the riot.

The jailbreak set off an angry response from Arnold Thompson, the president of the 4,000-member California guards' association, who demanded the ouster of CYA Director Allen Breen.

Calling the already prison-like conditions of youth facilities like Ontario "Boy Scout camps" Thompson charged that Breed's policies are directly responsible for the violence.

"What is needed," Thompson exhorted, ". . .is a complete change of direction. . .and this is only possible if Breed, as well as a number of other administration officials, are removed."

Without being specific, Thompson wants tougher policies implemented in the CYA system, which warehouses a disproportionately high number of Black and Chicano inmates. Youth facilities like Tracey (Deuel Vocational Institute) and Ontario (California Youth Facility) are already noted for their high levels of violence, the direct result of a critical lack of meaningful programs for prisoners. □



Inmate JORDAN FLAGG is recaptured after escaping from the California Youth Facility at Ontario, California.



S.F. Students Protest Teacher Cutbacks

(San Francisco, Calif.) - About 1,500 students cut one class period at San Francisco's George Washington High School last week to stage a rally on the football field, and — led by cheerleaders — told the school board, "Don't fool with our school 'cause our school don't fool."

The students walked out of third-period classes to protest the demotion of 17 Washington teachers — some with up to eight years' seniority — and an increase in average class size from 25 to 31 pupils.

A notice addressing itself to possible reprisals was placed in each faculty mailbox. It read, "Teachers, it is your duty to mark these students absent. But if you decide to take stronger action, remember, you could have been consolidated (demoted) too."

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

October 2, 1800

Nat Turner, who led a famous slave revolt in 1831, was born on October 2, 1800, in Southampton County, Virginia. The 1831 rebellion led by Turner took the lives of at least 57 Whites and is viewed as the greatest slave volt in U.S. history.

September 27, 1822

Hiram R. Revels, the first Black U.S. senator, was born a free man in Fayetteville, North Carolina, on September 27, 1822.

September 28, 1829

Walker's Appeal, a radical antislavery pamphlet, was first published in Boston, Massachusetts, by David Walker, a free Black man, on September 28, 1829.

October 1, 1851

Black and White abolitionists smashed into a Syracuse, New York, courtroom on October 1, 1851, and rescued a fugitive slave.

September 27, 1862

The First Louisiana Native Guards, the first Black regiment to receive official recognition in the Civil War, were mustered into the Union Army on September 27, 1862.

September 27, 1912

The first published blues composition, "Memphis Blues," by the great W.C. Handy, went on sale in Memphis, Tennessee, on September 27, 1912.

September 30, 1962

A large force of federal marshals escorted James H. Meredith into the University of Mississippi on September 30, 1962, enforcing a federal court order. Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett had personally denied Meredith admission to the all-White university on September 20. After Meredith's admission White students and adults rioted on the Oxford, Mississippi, campus. Two persons were killed and 100 were wounded. Over 12,000 federal troops wre required to restore order.

H.U.D. GIVES HOUSING AUTHORITY 30 DAYS FOR TIMETABLE ON SAN ANTONIO VILLA

(Oakland, Calif.) — The federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has given the Oakland Housing Authority (OHA) 30 days to develop a timetable for the improvement of the living conditions in San Antonio Villa.

In addition, HUD has demanded the removal of the Villa's dilapidated recreation center, "if it is not renovated within the next month."

These are two most significant judgments against the OHA contained in a HUD report released last week on conditions within the deteriorating, 178-unit housing project in East Oakland. The report represents the follow-up of an on-site inspection of the Villa demanded by the San Antonio Tenants' Union and carried out by HUD on August 25.



BPINS photos

San Antonio Villa residents BESSIE THOMAS, ADELE SMITH and JACKIE JONES all agreed with HUD's contention that the housing project's decaying recreation center (above) should be torn down or renovated.

FACE-SAVING REPORT

Undercutting a vicious, face-saving report released less than three weeks ago by OHA Executive Director Harold Davis — which blames the tenants for their unlivable environment — the HUD report focuses on several areas of neglect:

"The OHA should be able to improve the project appearance through:

"a) conducting an active preventive maintenance program;

"b) resurfacing worn out or vandalized lawn areas;

"c) improved maintenance of refuse chutes and bins;

"d) re-evaluation of the current extermination program;

"e) establishment of Resident Assistant position(s) to improve communications between the OHA and residents;

"f) establishment of programs to educate residents as to the roles and responsibilities of both OHA and the residents."

Perhaps nowhere is the HUD report's variance with the OHA's report more noticeable than concerning the maintenance of the Villa's refuse chutes and garbage bins, a constant grievance voiced by tenants.

In the OHA reports, the refuse chutes and garbage bins are given an excellent rating, with Davis emotionally blaming San Antonio residents for spillage and the garbage which litters the project.

On the other hand, the HUD reports reveals that:

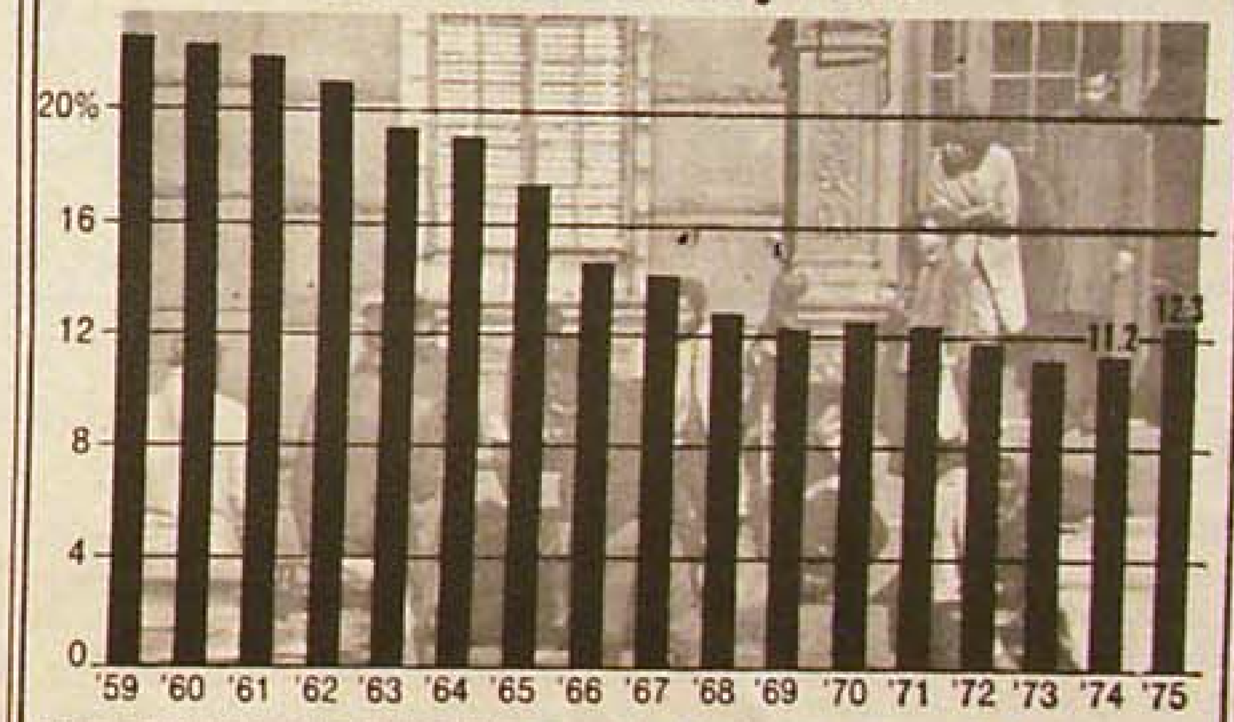
"The refuse bins observed did not fit properly under the chute lid without extra ordinary physical effort. This results in spillage of refuse because the lid does not close securely over the refuse bin. It appears that the installation of guides for the refuse bins was improper and is resulting in this unsightly, unsanitary, and unneccessary spillage of refuse to the ground.

"This installation deficiency should be corrected by the OHA so that spillage does not occur. The OHA should also assure that the Scavenger Company replaces the bins properly, and that the Scavenger Company is responsible for cleaning up any spillage which it creates.

"The refuse chute doors were

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

The Percentage of Americans Below the Poverty Level*



*The officially defined cutoff points for poverty levels of income are re-estimated annually by the government to take into account such factors as inflation. For 1975, a single person with an income of $2,717 or less was considered poor; a two-person family with an income of $3,485 was considered poor, and a four person family with an income of $5,469 was considered poor.

Source: Bureau of the Census

Number Of Poor Rises To 25.9 Million

(Washington, D.C.) — The number of persons officially listed as "living in poverty" in the United States increased by over 2.5 million in 1975, the largest single year rise since the government began keeping such statistics in 1959.

According to a report released last Saturday by the Bureau of the Census, almost 25.9 million Americans are now officially classified as "poor," an increase of 10.7 per cent over 1974. There was a 12.9 per cent increase in the number of poor Whites and a 6.1 per cent increase in the number of poor Blacks from 1974 to 1975 — with Blacks continuing to be overrepresented among those living in poverty, constituting 31 per cent of the overall total.

The report reveals that the median (half above, half below) family income rose slightly in 1975, to $13,729, but that inflation cut the real purchasing power of the typical family by 2.6 per cent.

Dallas Tenants Victorious In Summer-Long Rent Strike

(Dallas, Texas) - A summer-long rent strike by tenants of the West Park Apartments here has ended with residents winning a complete victory.

The tenants, who had been on strike since June, signed an agreement with owner Paul Oman (of Los Angeles) which stipulated that:

1. Apartment manager Reuben Willis, who was known for threatening tenants, be removed;

2. Systematic repairs regarding water leaks, pest extermination, plumbing and electrical wiring will begin immediately while less important repairs will be made in the near future;

3. A program will be implemented whereas tenants can make maintenance requests in duplicate to the management. If the work is not completed within a specified time, a direct notice would be forwarded directly to Oman;

4. A maintenance man would attend a qualified extermination training program.

OBSTACLES

In order to achieve their victory, the Tenants' Association had to surmount numerous obstacles. Just before the agreement was signed, Oman had ordered all of the utilities in the complex shut off. However, this only strengthened the unity of tenants and the agreement with Oman was signed before the order was carried out.

Also, Oman had filed suit against the West Park residents, demanding the payment of rent that was being withheld. In the end Oman was forced to drop the suit and agree to tenant demands as HUD was threatening to foreclose on the property.

Patsy Anthony, a Tenants' Association representative, commented, "I think Oman realized that he was dealing with a bunch of diehards. . .The people were determined that no man from Los Angeles was going to come here and destroy our community."

A statement from the Tenants' Association read: "We have come a long way and we must stick together and make this agreement work, because if it works it guarantees us the very thing we struggled all summer for. . ."□

OFF BAY AREA COAST

GIANT SPONGES FOUND GROWING ON RADIOACTIVE BARRELS DUMPED IN OCEAN

(Oakland, Calif.) - The recent discovery of giant mutant sponges, growing on broken barrels of radioactive waste materials dumped into the waters off the coast of California near the Farallones Islands 25 years ago, has caused great alarm among Bay Area residents.

The sponges are huge — three to four feet tall — and the only place they have been discovered is growing attached to radioactive barrels in a small section of the Pacific Ocean 30 miles west of San Francisco. The plutonium content of the sea bottom sediment in this area was found to be 25 times higher than the maximum levels previously predicted by scientists.

The discovery of the giant sponges was revealed by *Oakland Tribune* reporters Fred Garretson and Richard Spencer. Leakage from ruptured drums was mentioned during the June, 1976, primary election campaign by advocates of Proposition 15, which was aimed at providing adequate nuclear safety standards.

CAMPAIGN

During the Proposition 15 campaign, reporters who asked the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) for details were told the documents were delayed at the government printers. EPA reports "estimated" 47,500 barrels were dropped at the water site while a spokesperson for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission said that, in fact, 59,527 barrels of radioactive slugs were dumped in the Farallones waters.

The *Tribune* reporters said that "about 25 per cent" of the radioactive barrels have broken open on the ocean floor. At least three boatloads of the waste were dumped into water only 300 feet deep.

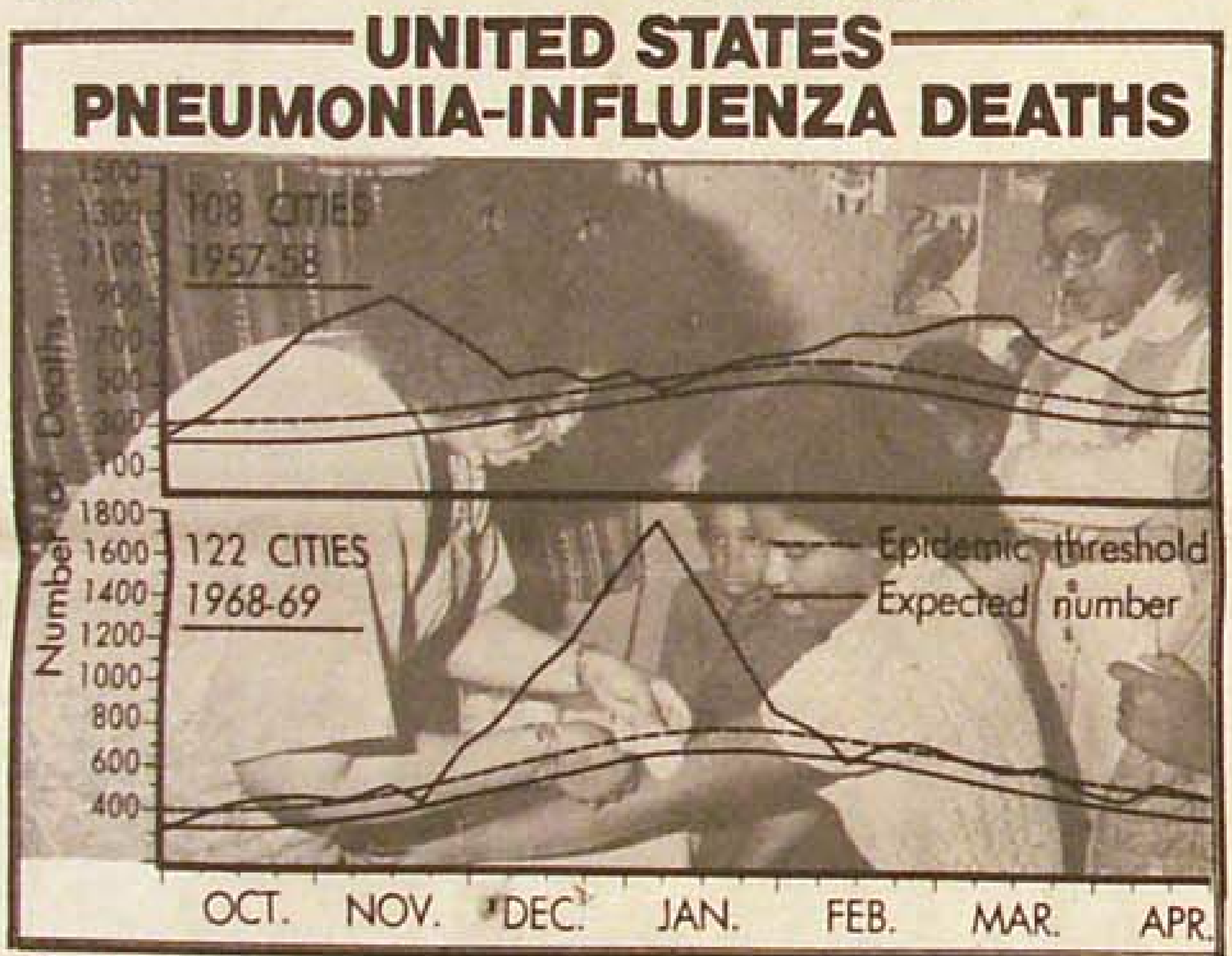
Although U.S. government oceanographer Robert S. Dyer tried to gloss over the idea that the sponges were "a nice science-fiction idea," a microscopic analysis at the Smithsonian Institute showed one specimen was completely different from any previously classified animal.

There is the possibility that: (1) radioactive sediments from these dump sites have washed ashore, endangering thousands of California beachgoers; and (2) fish caught near San Francisco may have been contaminated by the waste. Ocean bottom currents would tend to sweep the radioactive wastes and sediments onto the beaches of San Francisco and San Mateo and into the San Francisco and San Mateo Bays.

Jim Channel, of the San Francisco regional EPA office, told reporters that he had heard second-hand reports that radioactive barrels have actually floated ashore or were found floating near the shallow portion of the Farallones dump. A large number of Navy reports which apparently dealt with dumping have vanished from the National Archives branch office in San Bruno, California, Channel added.

The EPA announced it would conduct a study in regards to the possible radioactive contamination of the fish in the waters near the dumping sites. The species that might be contaminated is the popular low-priced food called "butterfish" or sable fish, which is widely eaten in poor communities.

Although nuclear regulatory officials claim that this radioactive leakage is not a "credible problem" because of low radioactive levels, they admit that the barrels will probably corrode before the radioactivity of their contents subsides. □



Graphs detail 1957-58 Asian flu epidemic (top diagram) and 1968-69 Hong Kong flu epidemic (bottom diagram).

"Swine Flu" Program Delayed

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

have antibodies for the swine virus — the one that resembles A-New Jersey — CDC scientists hypothesized that the new strain might be related to the killer virus of 60 years ago. But they could develop no hard proof.

Their hypothesis, however, was sufficient to spur President Ford and his advisors to plan by far the largest immunization campaign in U.S. history for this fall — once the vaccine has been developed and tested.

1918 STRAIN

Dr. Sidney Wolfe, director of the Public Citizen's Health Research Group, argues that even if the virus is identical to the 1918 strain, modern antibiotics and health care would prevent a repetition of the earlier disaster.

Science advisors at the federal Center for Disease Control pointedly avoided endorsing any mass immunization schemes. Yet CDC administrators backed the Ford plan.

The same thing happened at the Division of Biologics Standards (DBS), the government agency charged with monitoring the safety and effectiveness of vaccines. One of DBS's principal researchers, Dr. J. Anthony Morris, says he thinks the Fort Dix situation is no cause for alarm, that mass immunization is risky, offers no real hope of protection, and is utterly unjustified.

"If it were up to me," he said, "I wouldn't even start making the vaccine. . .There is no clear-cut evidence that inactivated vaccines offer appreciable protection to the recipients."

Meanwhile, other critics charge that the immunization plan is not only unwarranted, but a threat to the health of the American public. □

EYES ON CITY HALL

Community Development Seeks Proposals

The Oakland Office of Community Development (OCD) is presently seeking citizen participation in the preparation of the city's third-year block grant application for federal community development funds. The application will be presented to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Renewal for approval. For the past two years, Oakland has received $253 million in a six-year CD program supposedly set up to give urban centers more flexibility in upgrading their low and moderate income neighborhoods. The OCD office was set up in 1974 and since then has been under severe community protest and criticism for its slow and ineffective action. Over $7.2 million has been allocated for housing rehabilitation and for salvaging vacant houses, but a very small percentage of that allocation has actually been used.

Minority Groups Blast Defense Agency

Three minority organizations, Image, a Latino group, Chinese for Affirmative Action and the NAACP, filed an administrative complaint last week with the Department of Labor against the Department of Defense Agency, which is responsible for monitoring the affirmative action efforts of certain Bay Area government contractors.

Citing Executive Order 11246, which requires government contractors to hire, train and promote minority workers in representative numbers, the three groups charged the agency with:

•Penalizing compliance officers who try to enforce the executive order;

•Refusing to routinely monitor the activities of contractors with less than 200 employees (which means that two-thirds of the area's contractors are never reviewed on a regular basis);

•Discriminating against its own employees;

•Conducting totally inadequate investigations of individual complaints; and

•Collusion with certain contractors in order to escape the requirements of the executive order. The three minority organizations are being represented by the Alameda County Legal Aid Society.



Revolutionary woman guerrilla.

MOBIL OIL SCANDAL

"Let's Make A Deal"—With Racist Rhodesia

The following is the conclusion of an article reprinted from Mother Jones *magazine detailing the Mobil Oil Corporation's long-time illegal trade with the White minority government of Rhodesia — in violation of economic sanctions imposed against the racist regime in 1965. (See article, this page.) The Mobil scandal was exposed in June of this year by the progressive People's Bicentennial Commission (PBC).*

CONCLUSION

What the documents showed was that Mobil had set up, with the Rhodesian government, a "paper chase" of dummy companies, post box addresses, phony order sheets and invoices. The paper chase had allowed Mobil's South African subsidiary to import huge quantities of crude and refined oil products, then appear to sell them to South African companies. But in fact most of the companies never even took possession of their Mobil purchases, since they existed on paper only.

By the late '60s, Mobil Oil was supplying Rhodesia with not only all of its gasoline and diesel products, but the specialized aviation fuel for the prop-driven planes of its air force. By 1974 the business was, by conservative estimates, worth $20 million to Mobil each year.

Singlehandedly, America's fifth largest corporation is keeping alive a regime that has been not only embargoed but condemned by virtually every nation on earth.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

FRONTLINE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS REJECT PLAN—ARMED STRUGGLE CONTINUES

(Lusaka, Zambia) - The five frontline presidents in southern Africa last Sunday rejected the U.S.-British proposals concerning the creation of an interim government in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) as outlined by Rhodesian "Prime Minister" Ian Smith, charging that the proposals, "if accepted, would be tantamount to legalizing the colonialist and racist structures of power" in the country. The presidents have demanded that Great Britain, as "the colonial authority" over Zimbabwe, convene a conference to work out a substitute plan.

The main objection of the five African leaders to the four-point plan — authored by U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger — concerns the structure and racial composition of the proposed interim government.

As detailed by Smith in a nationwide address, the interim government would be composed of a Council of State, which would be the supreme governmental body, and the Council of Ministers. The Council of State would have an equal number of Blacks and Whites, with a White serving as chairman. It would draft a new constitution and supervise elections in two years.

The Council of Ministers would be appointed by the Council of State and would have responsibility for the day-to-day administration of the government. This body would have a Black majority and a Black chief minister, but the Ministries of Defense and Law and Order would be headed by Whites during the two-year transition period. This latter provision was a concession Kissinger made to the Smith regime which insists that only the predominantly Black but White-led security force of the country can keep the peace during the next two years.

The five presidents, along with Zimbabwe nationalists, point out that any decision that the Council of Ministers would vote on would require a two-thirds majority for passage, thus giving the Whites automatic blocking power since the White chairman could break any tie votes.

In addition to the biracial government and Black majority rule in two years, the other Kissinger proposals Smith said his ruling Rhodesian Front party had agreed to include: (1) the lifting of United Nations-imposed economic sanctions against the country; (2) the end of fighting by liberation forces; and (3) the creation — outside of Zimbabwe — of an internationally financed trust fund to organize development and investment programs in the breakaway British colony.

President Nyerere, appearing last Sunday on ABC-TV's *Issues and Answers* — prerecorded last week in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania — made it plain that the armed liberation struggle would not stop until a Black-dominated provisional government is established in Zimbabwe. The Tanzanian leader emphasized that "guerrilla fighting is for the purpose of achieving majority rule" and that "the guerrilla fighting will continue during the talks" (prior to the creation of the interim government).

The U.S. expects Britain to take the leadership in achieving a quick settlement in Zimbabwe. As the recognized ruling authority for the country, the British government will have to ask the United Nations Security Council to rescind its 11-year-old economic sanctions against the colony. It was at the request of Britain that the Security Council first enacted the sanctions in late 1965, following the White rebel government's "Unilateral Declaration of Independence" on November 11, 1965.

The British Foreign Office announced that within days it will

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26



Black African presidents KENNETH KAUNDA, AGOSTINHO NETO, JULIUS NYERERE, SERETSE KHAMA and SAMORA MACHEL at Dar es Salaam conference.

Chavez Blasts Sears' Voter Registration Ban

(Los Angeles, Calif.) — Farm labor leader Cesar Chavez has reacted angrily to a court injunction prohibiting voter registration at Sears, Roebuck & Co. stores in Los Angeles County. Sears obtained a temporary restraining order Wednesday in Los Angeles Superior Court.

Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, issued the following statement:

"Sears must be happy about the fact that less than 50 per cent of the eligible voters are going to the polls on November 2. The growers denied farm workers the right to vote earlier this year. Now Sears seeks to deny the general public the right to vote. (Voter registration ends on October 4.)

"Somehow, agribusiness and Sears believe that if no one votes then they will be able to defeat Proposition 14.

"We can't believe that Sears objects to registering American citizens to vote. Voter registration is so essential to the political process and so fundamental to American democracy that we have to continue to talk to people and ask them to register and vote yes on 14.

"We don't really believe that Sears means what their lawyers have said. If they do mean it, then Sears and the growers must be in collusion to defeat Proposition 14."

ILLEGAL REVIEW OF L.E.A.A. FUNDING CITED

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT VIOLATIONS CREATE NATIONAL POLICE FORCE

(Washington, D.C.) - The Justice Department has for the last five years violated the provisions of a law enacted to prevent the possible development of a national police force, according to a California congressman.

The provisions in question are restrictions added to the 1968 Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, which authorized the first massive federal aid program for state and local law enforcement agencies.

One restriction specifies that the duties, powers and functions of the head of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration — the Justice Department agency created to disperse the funds — "shall not be transferred elsewhere in the Department of Justice unless specifically hereafter authorized by Congress."

A second restriction said that nothing in the act authorized any federal agency or official "to exercise any direction, supervision or control" over state and local police forces, courts and correctional systems.

Despite these provisions Congressman John M. Moss charged, the Justice Department has created two panels that have reviewed more than $40 million in federal grants for two highly sensitive aspects of police work — controlling organized crime and improving communications among police agencies.

REVIEW PANEL

The first review panel, which includes the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Drug Enforcement Administration, was created by Attorney General John N. Mitchell in 1971. The second review panel, created on July 16, 1976, by Attorney General Edward H. Levi, is called the Information and Telecommunications System Policy Board. Its membership also includes the FBI.

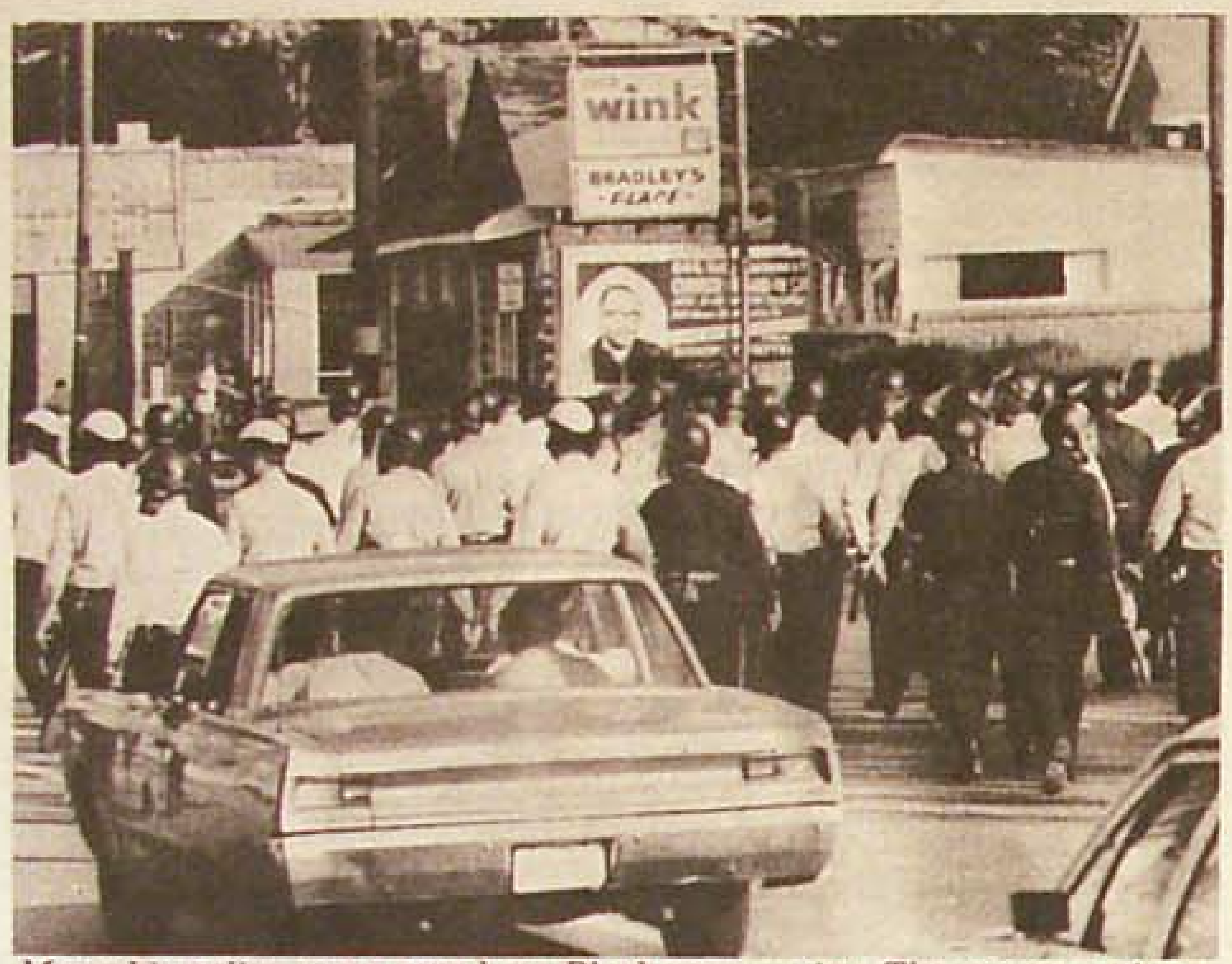
In a recent letter to Mr. Levi, Representative Moss, a Democrat, said the creation of the panels and their review powers "raise serious questions in the area of privacy invasion, intrusion into state and local jurisdictional bounds, implications of creation of a national police force and violations of federal law."

The California Congressman further charged that the existence of the panels with the FBI and Drug Enforcment Administration reviewing law enforcement grants led to the "inescapable conclusion that these entities are deliberately involved in this vital process in order to manipulate and shape to their image all criminal justice operations down to the state and local level."

To buttress his argument against the Justice Department, Mr. Moss cited a 1971 decision by the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit that said the Congressional restrictions on federal crime grants were based on a dominant concern about the "tendency towards federalization of local police and the law enforcement agencies.

"Even more important than Congress' search for efficiency and expertise was its fear that overboard federal control of state law enforcement could result in the creation of an Orwellian 'federal police force,' " the decision concluded.

According to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, approximately 150 organized crime control grants involving $40 million have been reviewed by the panel since it was established.□



Memphis police stage attack on Black community. The recent actions of the U.S. Justice Department are aimed at creating a police state.

Timetable On San Antonio

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

caked with refuse. The OHA should periodically (at least once a month) clean the chutes and doors. The OHA should require the Scavenger Company to clean the bins after collection of the refuse. The OHA should also periodically check to see if the drain plugs on the bins are in place. Lack of these plugs allows maggots, which can breed in the bins, to escape to the ground and cause unsanitary conditions."

VERY FAVORABLE

In response to the HUD findings, San Antonio Tenants' Union co-president Bessie Thomas told THE BLACK PANTHER, "I think this report is very favorable for the tenants of San Antonio Villa ... The recreation center is in shambles and as far as I'm concerned it should be torn down. I don't see how in the world they can repair the place.

"Harold Davis had blamed everything on the tenants while the HUD inspection report proved otherwise," she said.

Mrs. Thomas' views were echoed throughout the Villa. Other comments to the reporter were:

•Adele Smith: "From past experience, the OHA hasn't been doing very much. Maybe since this HUD report has come in it will put some pressure on them and they will get something done. The OHA hadn't done too much of anything until we went to HUD and had that demonstration (on August 12). If we don't get anything done this time, we might have to go over there again."

•Jackie Jones: "The report made me feel better because it contradicted Mr. Davis. I think we made our best victory going over to HUD with the demonstration. As far as I'm concerned the OHA and the commissioners don't even care. They just put on a big front."□

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Electroshock Rights

(Sacramento, Calif.) — Mental patients will have the right to refuse electroshock treatment, starting next year, under a bill signed last week by California Governor Jerry Brown. The bill gives patients an absolute right to refuse the treatment unless a hearing determines the patient is incapable of informed consent.

Black For Debates?

(New York, N.Y.) - The Board of Directors of the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA) last week sent an urgent appeal to the League of Women Voters that the group assign a Black reporter to the media debate panel assigned to ask questions in the Ford-Carter debates. In a letter to the League, Dr. Carlton Goodlett, NNPA president, said that a Black reporter should "sit in the press panel to assure a complete coverage of America's civil rights and the candidates' viewpoints regarding Black Africa, which at the moment is the focal point of world politics."

"Prop. T" Drive

(San Francisco, Calif.) — San Franciscans for District Elections (SPDE) kicked off a citywide campaign leafleting effort on September 25 as part of their "Yes on Proposition T" drive. The mass circulation of a brochure stressing the theme of community control of the Board of Supervisors was part of a ". . .grassroots drive to remove control of city government from the special interests and place the control back into the hands of the people of the city," said a spokesperson for SPDE.

Johnson Gets Life

(St. Louis, Mo.) — J.B. Johnson, the victim of a false conviction stemming from a 1970 killing of a White policeman, was recently denied probation and sentenced to life imprisonment despite an urgent appeal from numerous organizations and individuals for leniency in his case. Johnson's noted defense attorney, William Kunstler, called the probation denial "racism at its worst. If any White man had one-tenth of the support for probation that we introduced in court, the judge would have granted probation," Kunstler said.

A DISQUIETING LOOK AT THE JIMMY CARTER NON-CAMPAIGN

BEHIND THE SMILE

It was a tough week for aspiring Democratic Party Presidential nominee Jimmy Carter.

First came the press releases from his forthcoming November Playboy *interview in which Carter blew the Democrats' lock on the state of Texas by charging that favorite son Lyndon Baines Johnson was drawling through his 10-gallon hat; lying, that is. Lady Bird was "terribly" upset, why Linda Bird simply wept. The really big furor over the interview, though, was Carter's admission of illicit "lusts" and his belief of "God's forgiveness" — and Rosalynn's — for those secret yearnings.*

Next came the first of three great debates between Carter and Ford. Would you believe that the man they once said "wore his football helmet too tight" could score more points than the Georgia peanut farmer? (Which says a lot for the state of education in the state of Georgia.)

In all it was a pornographic week for Carter — an obscene spread in Playboy *and naked stupidity on T.V.*

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents the conclusion of an exclusive behind-the-scenes view of Jimmy Carter written by Robert Shrum, a former speechwriter, who quit. The series has been reprinted from an article which first appeared in New Times *magazine.*



A.Z. PITTMAN, of Plains, Ga., sits in front of what's left of his home, which was torn down on the orders of the JIMMY CARTER (inset) campaign committee.

CONCLUSION

Carter chatted with Green through a stop-action smile. A question popped into my mind's ear: if smiling is an effort of the man's will, do his facial muscles ever tire in public? I smiled, to myself.

At lunch and intermittently through the day, staff members traded anecdotes and insights. Carter remains an endlessly fascinating puzzle to those who surround him, even after they know him for years. Deferential in his presence, they can be bemused among themselves. One of them referred to Carter as "a very odd duck."

How does he decide to smile? "To impress or persuade people." Never, otherwise? "Hardly ever."

Did Carter play any games? "Tennis — but he gave it up for the campaign. He doesn't want the public to think of him as a tennis player." What did he do with his spare time? "He can't stand not to be busy."

Carter, one aide laughed earlier, "got away with saying the strangest things." He supported the Supreme Court decision that the states could outlaw homosexual acts because "fornication is a sin and Carter said he assumes that also means between men."

Did he believe every "sin" should be a crime? No, but as President, "he'll preach personal morality. He thinks a basic problem in America is permissiveness."

Why did it take so long to retract "ethnic purity"? The staff warned him that defending the "mistake" — they all seemed to assume among themselves that it was a mistake — would compound the disaster. At first Carter insisted he would "never back down." The story variously related that Andy Young persuaded him to apologize, or that his wife "talked him into it."

One of Carter's closest friends shrugged off the economic and foreign policy task forces: "Jimmy doesn't take these guys seriously. He wants their names (Harriman, Vance, Chayes of Harvard, Thurow of MIT, et al.) but he doesn't like other stars around him. He's the star and he wants other people to carry out his ideas."

Carter was on a 30-hour trip to Connecticut and New Jersey. I stayed in Philadelphia to write the victory statement for Pennsylvania. When I finished in the early evening, I reread it. I believed what it said, but not Carter saying it. "Specificity is not oversimplicity; the solution is not overpromising." But for Carter, the reasons were only a rationalization.

"Bill Moyers wants to go to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

Watergate Probe Hits Ford

(Washington, D.C.) — President Ford is the subject of renewed Watergate inquiries, it was revealed here last week. Watergate special prosecutor Charles H. Ruff has subpoenaed records on Ford going back to 1964 from two Republican committees in Kent County, Michigan, the President's political base, and records of political contributions made during the same period by the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association — which contributed $7,500 to Ford's 1972 campaign for re-election to the House.

White House spokesperson Ron Nessen also confirmed that while he was a congressman, Ford was at least twice the guest of William G. Whyte, chief lobbyist for the United States Steel Corporation on golfing weekends that were largely paid for by the corporation.

Meanwhile, eight national and New York City consumer groups last week filed a criminal lawsuit charging the President with 82 counts of endangering the public health and safety and lowering American consumers' standard of living. Carole Tucker Foreman, executive director of the Consumer Federation, one of the eight groups involved in the suit, said, "The evidence of Gerald R. Ford's abuse of basic consumer rights is overwhelming."

"HE'D BE A SLAVE"

Rockefeller, Albert Slur Senator Brooke

(Washington, D.C.) — Vice President Nelson Rockefeller and Speaker of the House Carl Albert were overheard in unguarded conversation, in the House Chamber, about Liberians that included derogatory remarks about Senator Edward W. Brooke.

The remarks were transmitted through an open microphone on the Speaker's dais shortly before the President of Liberia, Dr. William R. Tolbert, Jr., addressed a joint session of Congress.

As the Washington diplomatic corps was filing into the House chamber Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Albert, as the chief officers of the two Houses of Congress were sitting together preparing to receive Dr. Tolbert, who had yet to enter the chamber.



NELSON ROCKEFELLER insults audience at recent speaking appearance.

Following is a transcript of their conversation:

ALBERT: "Are there many Liberians that are mulattoes? There are?"

ROCKEFELLER: "Most are strictly Blacks."

ALBERT: "Real Black huh?"

ROCKEFELLER: "But they've got a class system. The Blacks that went back to Liberia and took on all the characteristics of the Southern Whites. And they treated the local Blacks. . ."

ALBERT: "They never let the local Blacks get in on anything?"

ROCKEFELLER: "Oh, no. They've slightly changed their speech, but only slightly."

ALBERT: "But only slightly."

ROCKEFELLER: "Ed Brooke is a one-man receiving committee."

ALBERT: "Yeah, he'd be a slave if he were over there." (Laughter.)

Staff aides in the gallery asked reporters not to use the recordings, pleading that under the rules of the House any remarks made on the Speaker's dais were privileged. □

S. Q. 6 JUROR REVEALS HATRED OF B.P.P.

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

September 24, Garry's affidavit relates that he and his assistant, Ms. Pat Richartz, interviewed juror Fagan two days earlier in her Novato, California, home. The personal declaration goes on to state;

"Patricia Allan Fagan stated the following:

•"That she originally lived in the Los Angeles area.

•"That her best friend had been murdered in cold blood on a tennis court in Los Angeles, California. Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt was subsequently convicted of that murder.

•"That when she heard the name Elmer Pratt during Tackwood's testimony, she became greatly upset. She feared she would pass out or become hysterical, as the memories of her friend's death returned to her.

•"That she contacted Judge Henry Broderick, and told him that her best friend had been murdered by the same "Geronimo" Pratt mentioned by Tackwood. She told Broderick she feared she might break down in court over the matter. Judge Broderick told her that the murder was long past, and she should put it out of her mind. Fagan did not indicate that Broderick voir dired (questioned) her as to the effect of the incident on her attitude toward the defendants.

FELLOW JURORS

•"That she informed her fellow jurors of how she felt and the circumstances of Elmer Pratt murdering her best friend. . .

•"That in her opinion, people charged with a crime only use psychiatric testimony when they don't have any other defense. Further, a psychiatrist only relates what the defendant tells him.

"None of the foregoing facts as outlined by juror Fagan were ever communicated to me and, as far as I know, they were not communicated to the rest of the attorneys by either Fagan or Judge Broderick.

"I have been the general counsel for the Black Panther Party since October, 1967. I am familiar with all of the leadership of the Party since that time to the present time. I know of my own knowledge that Pratt was one of the top leaders of the Black Panther Party in Los Angeles. His reputation as a leader in the Black Panther Party was well publicized in the media in Los Angeles.

"During the course of the trial, there was testimony that both Pratt and my client, Johnny Larry Spain, were members of, or associated with, the Black Panther Party.



People's lawyer CHARLES GARRY.

"Juror Fagan was voir dired (questioned) while a prospective juror by the court on June 12, 1975, and testified as follows.

" 'GARRY: How about crimes of violence? Any knowledge of that at all?

" 'A: No.

" 'Q: Witness, victim, otherwise?

" 'A: No.

" 'Q: Have you heard of the Black Panther Party?

" 'A: Yes.

" 'Q: Do you associate the Black Panther Party with any form of violence in your own mind?

" 'A: No.

"I questioned every prospective juror on the Black Panther Party. . . Had she given the true answer about her knowledge. . . I would have questioned her and more than likely had her excused. . ."

In the August 12 compromise verdict which followed the longest jury selection (over 1,200 prospective jurors)/trial (16 months)/jury deliberation (24 days) in state history, Johnny Spain was unjustly convicted of two counts of murder and conspiracy to escape. Two other San Quentin 6 defendants were convicted of lesser charges while three were acquitted.

In a statement released at that time, the Black Panther Party denounced the jury decision as reflecting ". . .*the impossibility of a Black person or, more, a member of the Black Panther Party, to receive a fair trial in this country. Specifically the harshest verdict. . .was singly handed down to the only defendant who is a Black Panther Party member, Johnny Larry Spain. . .Johnny Spain was convicted of guilt by association, association with a friend, George Jackson, and with an organization, the Black Panther Party. . .*"

Since then, several other irregularities of the case have come to light. Foremost among them is evidence that Marin County District Attorney Bruce Bales spied on the jury during their deliberations. In addition, all the convicted defendants have filed motions for a new trial on the grounds that they were illegally shackled and chained in the courtroom, contrary to a recent state Supreme Court ruling.

ASTONISHMENT

Legal observers have expressed astonishment that the entire jury disregarded the instructions Judge Broderick droned out at least four times every day of the trial — "I admonish you not to discuss this case or permit anyone to discuss it with you" — and concealed among themselves juror Fagan's indiscretion.

In a conspiracy trial marked by the defense contention of a "counterconspiracy" — that is, the state's planned assassination of Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson — the existence of yet another conspiracy, this one among the trial jurors, is thought to be unprecedented in U.S. jurisprudence.

Ironically, the only conspiracy for which there is absolutely no evidence is the alleged conspiracy for which the defendants stood trial. □

Phone Company Spying Scandal Rocks Puerto Rico

(New York, N.Y.) - Charges of massive interception of telephone calls have been the onset of a scandal which captured the headlines of all Puerto Rican newspapers recently.

The Puerto Rican daily, *Claridad*, has made public information about illegal operations of the "Department of Observations" of the Puerto Rican Telephone Company. For reasons still unclear, the department intercepted and recorded thousands of calls on a regular basis.

Claridad had in its possession lists of calls intercepted as well as thousands of feet of magnetic tape recorded by the company. Several days later, the socialist, pro-independence newspaper revealed that the company was recording conversations at a rate of over 80,000 per year.

The response by the phone company was that the sole purpose of the recordings was to account for and control the quality of telephone connections. The company maintained that in any case the recordings never exceeded a 12-second duration limit.

FELL FLAT

The explanation fell flat. Nowhere in the laws that prohibit such interceptions is it indicated that they are permissible either for technical purposes or if limited in duration. Experts asserted that recordings are unnecessary to determine the success or failure of connections.

Most significantly, the fact that the tapes were saved and filed by the company was not explained.

Several taped conversations played at a news conference were of duration many times 12 seconds, contrary to the company claims. A conversation held last December between two leaders of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party was also played.

Before being appointed phone company president, Rodriguez Aponte was superintendent of the Police Department of Puerto Rico. He is known to maintain close working relations with the FBI, the police, and other repressive agencies in Puerto Rico.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which has played the leading role in making the revelations, made the accusation that the interceptions and recordings were carried out for the purpose of political repression.□

17-YEAR-OLD JOHNNY ROSS LANGUISHES ON LOUISIANA DEATH ROW

BLACK YOUTH SEEKS NEW TRIAL IN RAPE FRAME-UP

(Angola, La.) - Johnny Ross, a Black, 17-year-old youth convicted on false charges of raping a White woman, is still languishing here on death row in Louisiana's infamous Angola Prison, despite the fact that the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the state's death penalty is un-Constitutional.

Ross, who was once the youngest person on death row, was sentenced to die in the electric chair last year at the age of 16 after a jury took 90 minutes to find him guilty of raping a White woman. Ross had met with his court-appointed lawyer only once, just before the trial which lasted one day.

After being sent to death row at Angola, he wrote a desperate appeal for help to the Southern Poverty Law Center, which read in part:

"Please, I beg you to help me and talk with me. I'm truly afraid to die and Louisiana Penitentiary is a very dangerous place for a 16-year-old to spend the rest of his life. Please help me."

The Southern Poverty Law Center points out that since 1930, 455 men have been executed for rape; 405 were Black and all but two were executed in the South. Another crucial factor in Johnny Ross' well being and survival is that Angola state prison has one of the highest rates of violence and homosexual rape in the country.

Ross' lawyer, John Carroll of the Southern Poverty Law Center, has petitioned for Johnny's release on the grounds that the rape law under which Ross was convicted allows only one penalty, death, which now cannot be imposed.

Carroll has also filed an "assignment of errors," a listing of the flaws in Ross' original trial.



JOHNNY ROSS, 17 (foreground), occupies a death row cell with adult inmates. An appeal is being waged by the Southern Poverty Law Center to gain his freedom.

This motion is the first step toward having the Louisiana Supreme Court order a new trial, according to the Southern Poverty Law Center lawyer.

The incident for which Ross was falsely charged occurred in July of 1974 when two Black men allegedly abducted and raped a White woman at gunpoint. A witness to the act notified the police and when the men returned the woman back to the point where they had first kidnapped her, the police were there and a gunfight ensued.

Newspaper accounts described one of the men as 19 or 20 years old, 5' 7" and weighing 145 pounds while the other man was described as being 20 or 21 years old, 5' 9" tall and 160 pounds. Johnny Ross is 5'4" tall, weighs about 130 pounds and was 15 years old at the time.

The witness to the crime, a woman who is a federal law enforcement officer, could not identify Ross in a police line-up under bright lights. The Black youth's trial was full of contradictions and inconsistencies. After he was severely beaten by police, Ross was forced to sign a confession which he did not read or understand.

When the police came to young Ross' house a week after the rape occurred, they first attempted to arrest his younger brother. Ross was tried as an adult despite his age.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Southern Poverty Law Center also points out, ". . .(This case) comes at a time when the women's movement is struggling to make our society recognize and deal with the crime of rape. Concern for Johnny Ross is not at odds with this struggle. Rather it is a dimension of it — because the historical treatment of interracial rape, particularly in the South, has been an expression of both sexism and racism.

"The Center is committed to winning a new trial for Johnny. With your help we can prove his innocence and bring the day closer when racism and poverty no longer interfere with justice."

If you wish to make a tax-deductible contribution to Johnny Ross' defense or would like more information on his case, contact the Southern Poverty Law Center, 1001 South Hall Street, Montgomery, Alabama 36101.□

Rap Brown Gains Parole, New Trial

(New York, N.Y.) — Former Black activist H. Rap Brown won parole from New York's Greenhaven Prison last week. Brown also won an important legal victory as a United States Circuit Court of Appeals panel in New Orleans overturned a federal conviction against him, resulting from false gun charges.

Brown began serving a five to 15-year state prison term at Greenhaven Prison in April, 1973, after being convicted on charges of robbery and assault. As of yet, no decision has been made on whether he will be reprosecuted on the gun charges. "It's my hope," said defense attorney William Kuntsler, "that after nine years of this he (Brown) will not have to go through anymore and the U.S. attorney in New Orleans doesn't press this case."

There is now a strong possibility that Brown, who became famous for his fiery, militant leadership of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), will be released on October 21.

...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting Novel Examines Lives Of Black Americans In Egypt

In this week's excerpt from . . .And Bid Him Sing, Suliman, Bob Jones and other Black Americans living in Cairo, Egypt, gather at "Lucia's," a popular nightclub in the city.

PART 47

I had suggested to the owner that he hire Mohammed's combo. I emphasized that the music they played was more for listening than for dancing, but said that they could swing for the dancers too. He hadn't understood the distinction, but talked to Mohammed and, after some time, they came to an arrangement.

Mohammed was becoming bugged by the resistance to modern sounds he'd encountered in Egypt and was thinking of moving on into East Africa. But he knew Lucia's and saw its possibilities. He and we had hopes of maybe making it into some kind of jazz center in Cairo. We had all promised to spread the word and to come ourselves as often as possible.

It was nearly eleven. The group was breaking. Only the drummer was on the bandstand, fiddling with his drums. He waved a drumstick in our direction and smiled. We both nodded. We knew Mohammed would probably be outside in the passageway turning on — or rather, feeding his perpetual high.

THE DRUMMER

Nodding toward the drummer, Suliman said, "That cat's got every record Buddy Rich ever made! An' he's got some recordings and tapes of traditional African drumming. Says he got them in Beirut."

"Mohammed tells me he comes from a rich family. He can afford to pay the prices they charge here for records. I can't, and I earn a damn good salary for Egypt," I said.

"Bought his drums in Beirut, too."

We sat silent for a while. When the waiter came over, Suliman ordered two beers, and I asked him if Hank came in, to tell him we were here. He said he would and went off to get our beers.

As I watched him disappear into the kitchen I saw Mohammed. He came in slowly from the sit-down bar and mounted the platform. His vibes player and French horn player followed him. He saw us immediately and headed toward our table. He was wearing the same black suit I had always seen him in, a white shirt and a silver-white tie loose at the throat.

"Hey, brother," Suliman said as he rose to take Mohammed's extended hand.

"Man, you cats a drag," he responded. "I been here three days and you just coming?"

"Sorry, man," I said, standing and taking his hand. "Been a little busy these days. How's it going?"

Suliman had pulled out a chair and we all sat down. "Want a beer?"

PISS

"You know I don't drink that piss. But you can order me a lemonade, after a while. I just had one outside." He looked around the room. "You all shoulda come earlier. There wasn't many people an' nobody wanted to dance, so we could wail a while. Don't know if the people liked it, but we was on top. Sounding good! Now's more people coming we gonna have to play for the jitterbugs. But that's cool. We still gonna swing."

"These fools don't know nothin' about real jazz, man," Suliman said contemptuously. "We got to educate 'em."

"But they got soul, brother," Mohammed replied immediately. "At least a whole lot of 'em have. Man, my cats in the group — all they got to do is hear something once, like it's s'pose to be played, and then they can take off from there. If they was better on their instruments we'd be some swinging cats."

"Man, that ain't soul," Suliman challenged, "that's imitatin', like whitey's been doing all along. Shit! That ain't soul!"

"You didn't hear me right, brother," Mohammed said quietly. I'd never seen him excited or angry. But he had a way of pausing before speaking to emphasize something he was about to say that he considered important. "I said they could take off from there — I mean, with their own thing — and swing, baby, I mean swing!" Suliman was silent, and I could see, beginning to sulk.

Mohammed continued. "You can see the way some of these young jitterbugs dance. They don't know the latest steps and they copying a lot from what they see in the Man's movies. But I ain't seen no Whiteys that can move they butts, shake they hips an' snap they fingers. . .an' lose they minds doin' it. . .the way a lotta cats and chicks here can."

He paused. "Man, if that ain't soul, I ain't a nigger!" He got up. "I gotta go to work," and stepped up on the platform wearily, picked up his horn from its stand and sat down.

The waiter came with our beers and I told him to take a lemonade to Mohammed and see what the others in the group wanted. He nodded and started off, stopped, turned and said, "I saw Mr. Hank come in a while ago. I think he's in the front bar."

"Thanks, I'll have a look."

As Suliman was pouring the beer I said, "I'll go get Hank. Be right back." He didn't reply.

TO BE CONTINUED



Textile market in Cairo's al-Jamalyah district.

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Strategy"



Black people show their support for imprisoned BPP leader Huey P. Newton in 1968 "Free Huey" rally.

In this excerpt from the chapter "Strategy" in Revolutionary Suicide, *Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton details the defense strategy of brilliant people's lawyer Charles Garry in Huey's celebrated 1968 trial for the murder of an Oakland police officer.*

PART 69

Garry also argued that in asking for a grand jury hearing in my case the prosecutor was doing something unusual and prejudiced. Alameda County statistics show that only 3 per cent of all cases go before grand juries. The rest are heard in what are known as "informations," where both sides argue before a judge, who then has the sole decision of calling a trial. In an "information" witnesses can be cross-examined, a procedure not allowed in grand jury hearings. In my case the prosecutor clearly wanted testimony presented to a grand jury in order to influence public opinion against me.

Garry also criticized the whole process of grand jury selection. In California, each of the twenty Superior Court judges recommends three persons as grand jurors; these nominees are supposed to be known to the judge personally. Obviously, few judges in Alameda County would be acquainted with many of the 200,000 Black people who live there. As a matter of fact, the only Black person who sat on my grand jury was absent on the day evidence was presented.

WHITE CITIZENS

Judges tend to choose White upper-middle-class citizens — businessmen, conservative housewives, brokers, bankers, retired army officers, and so forth, who are for the most part middle-aged and without the faintest understanding of the lives of poor Black people. Most of them, in fact, are hostile to Blacks. How, then, are they qualified to have any insight into the events or attitudes that bring such defendants before them?

One of Garry's presentations concerned the physical movement of the grand jury. After examining the official court transcripts of my hearing, Garry proved that the grand jury could not possibly have considered or discussed any of the evidence presented to them. He did a very thorough job of analyzing the minute-by-minute movements of the jurors on the final day of deliberations. The result was astonishing.

The time sequence of the jury's movements that day, as recorded in the official transcript, proves there could not have been any discussion or deliberation about my case. After all the evidence had been presented, the members of the grand jury went into the room where they were supposed to consider the evidence and shut the door. Almost immediately they came out.

Since the evidence concerning my guilt was nonexistent — not one person had testified that I carried or fired a gun — their failure to spend any time weighing the issue is incredible. In exposing their indifference and fraudulence, Garry strongly reinforced his contention that grand juries are insensitive to the problems of the poor and oppressed.

After filing briefs that questioned the constitutionality of the grand jury system, Garry turned to the inequities in the trial system itself. He and his staff did research on how jurors are chosen to serve. Alameda County, like most of the country, selects its juries from the county voter-registration list, and there, as elsewhere, the number of registered voters from Black communities is far smaller than those from the White population.

JURY DUTY

Furthermore, if selected for jury duty, many Black people have legitimate reasons for declining: economic hardship and inconvenience are involved. Because of this, few members of minority groups are available to decide the fate of their peers. Again, Garry raised the question of whether, under these circumstances, a Black man can receive a fair trial in America.

From November until the following July, when my trial began, Garry was busy and overworked, filing these motions in the California courts. Nine months is an exceptionally long time between indictment and trial. The delay in my case was not only inevitable, because of the time-consuming pretrial hearings, but desirable.

The media had made me a celebrity through television and hysterical newspaper accounts. The death of a policeman always incites a large percentage of the population to cry vengeance. Many people believed I was guilty. Then, too, the Oakland police were in a state of frenzy. On October 17, less than two weeks before the Frey shooting, they had once again demonstrated their brutality at a protest rally of 4,000 demonstrators in Oakland.

"BLOODY TUESDAY"

That day they attacked the demonstrators so viciously and with so little provocation that the entire media, even William Knowland's *Tribune*, criticized their behavior. The day became known as "Bloody Tuesday." As a result the police were very much on the defensive and anxious to vindicate themselves. To do this, they had to keep demonstrating how threatened they were, particularly by the Black Panthers. Their attacks on the brothers increased.

At one point David Hilliard was arrested on the street for handing out leaflets about my case; as far as I know, leafleting has never been against the law. At any rate, Garry wanted emotions to subside to improve my chances for a more objective trial.

While the police were stepping up their harassment of the Black Panthers, other people in the Oakland area were rallying to help me. The Party decided that a broad base of support would be necessary in order to win allies and raise funds for my defense. So in December the Black Panther Party announced a coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party.

This organization was made up mostly of young Whites who opposed the war in Vietnam and who also felt that the two-party system was no longer working.

TO BE CONTINUED

Interview With Eritreans For Liberation: "Establishing People's Power Piece By Piece"

Largely supported by the United States, the reactionary government of Ethiopia has colonized the country of Eritrea since 1952. Led by the Eritrean People's Liberation Forces (EPLF) and the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), the Eritrean people have been waging a determined armed struggle for national independence since 1961. In Part 1 of the following interview with THE BLACK PANTHER, a spokesperson for Eritreans For Liberation in North America (EFLNA) discusses the armed struggle and the intensive political organizing by the EPLF of the masses of Eritrean people in order to liberate the land and bring about the total transformation of the society.

PART 1

QUESTION: What are the latest developments in the Eritrean liberation struggle?

EFLNA: The struggle of our people for national liberation has reached new heights in the military, political and social spheres. In the last year, in the last three months especially, the vast majority of our people have been effectively organized behind the liberation forces. The EPLF and the ELF together control more than 95 per cent of Eritrea.

The latest attempt by the Ethiopian military junta — the Dergue — to crush the Eritrean liberation movement and carry out a mass slaughter of our civilian population, through the invasion of our country by a "volunteer" army, has been completely demolished and beaten back. The thousands of Ethiopian peasants forced to leave their villages and march north to carry out the junta's genocidal aggression have been stopped.

The revolutionary organization — workers, peasants, students and women — is being consolidated and the revolutionary process accelerated. In the villages of the liberated areas, democratic people's assemblies are being set up to carry out the day-to-day management of life — the social, economic and political life of the people—to bring about the replacement of feudalistic, capitalistic ideas and to inculcate new revolutionary values, new revolutionary mores.

A program of mass literacy is also being carried out. The liberation army is first required to learn how to read and write; they are made literate. It is a logical continuation of their political education. The rate of illiteracy in our country is 90 per cent. This is due, of course, to the continued colonial occupation of our country over the centuries. Education is a means whereby the old idealism will be replaced by the new, the old culture by the new. Education is therefore given preference.

The question of the land is also being tackled. Under Italian colonialism (the Italians ruled Eritrea prior to Ethiopia) one of the basic objectives was settlement of Italians on Eritrean soil. To bring this about, the Italians made all land below 5,000 feet in altitude government land or government domain. Under Ethiopian colonialism, this went further, with commercial agriculture taking place.

AGRARIAN QUESTION

The EPLF has carried out a comprehensive study of the agrarian question towards implementing a revolutionary agrarian policy to do away with capitalist relations in agriculture. Agriculture is given primary importance because the basis of future development in Eritrea lies in the development of agriculture.

Mass education is also being carried out in the training of cadres capable of defending the revolutionary line and carrying out the revolutionary program of the vanguard. The cadres (in the selection of cadres, primacy is given to people of worker and peasant backgrounds and those who are revolutionary intellectuals) are trained to advance the political outlook and to raise their ideological level.

The question of women is an important aspect of the struggle. In the old society, women were relegated to secondary positions and looked down upon. They were really downtrodden, among the most oppressed in our society. All this is being changed. In the first place, thousands of women are fighting in the Eritrean liberation forces. In fact, their motto is "Equality Through Equal Participation." Our women have realized that the fundamental question is social liberation, that without the liberation of society as a whole, women cannot be free. And realizing this fundamental principle, women are taking part in all aspects of the revolutionary struggle — fighting in the front lines and working in various departments.

In the area of health, extensive medical care is being given to our people. Two hospitals are being constructed with a capacity of 600 beds. Many of our people have never seen a doctor or medical practitioner and are being given medical attention for the first time.

Q: What plans is the EPLF making toward establishing a revolutionary government in Eritrea once liberation of the land is completed?

EFLNA: The objective of our people in the struggle for national liberation is not only to win the right to have a nationalist flag but to bring about basic changes in the structure of our society — to liberate our country, our resources and our people from the clasp of imperialism and Zionism. We desire a fundamental transformation in the lives of our people to destroy backward and archaic conditions.

REVOLUTIONARY FRONT

The EPLF is not really a political party; it is a revolutionary front which is led by proletarian ideology, the ideology of the working class. The front is constituted by and large of an alliance of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals. We call the EPLF the vanguard of the Eritrean revolution because of the correctness of its line. Only when the revolution is carried out, led by the correct line and correct example of the EPLF, can the successful socialist transformation of our society be continued.

However, the need for a party is very well understood by the EPLF, and necessary preparations are underway. The training of cadres, the raising of the ideological level, the organizing of the masses — these are all related to the safeguarding of the revolutionary struggle after liberation. The strategy of the EPLF has been to liberate the land piece by piece and establish people's power piece by piece. Following this strategy, the EPLF has liberated the entire Eritrean countryside.

The aim of the Eritrean liberation struggle is national independence and freedom. As soon as conditions are suitable and the Ethiopian army is completely crushed and no longer holds our cities, then the declaration of independence can be realized. There should be no doubt as to the aim of the Eritrean revolution. Independence is a precondition for the total liberation of our people, the liberation of our resources from Ethiopia's control.

TO BE CONTINUED



Eritrean people's guerrillas march to oppose an invasion of Ethiopian military forces. Through its so-called "volunteer army," Ethiopia has attempted to carry out mass slaughter among the Eritrean civilian population.

"WE SUPPORT OUR BROTHERS WHO ARE FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM"

MOZAMBIQUE'S DEFENSE MINISTER SPEAKS OUT ON ARMED STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA



Mass grave at Nhazonia refugee camp in Mozambique holds hundreds of victims of a brutal assault by Rhodesian army troops. Mozambique Defense Minister ALBERTO JOAQUIN CHIPANDA (inset) stresses that the people of Mozambique have suffered attacks from Ian Smith's regime for over a decade.

(Maputo, Mozambique) - The fight against colonialism and White racist rule has been and remains part of a single struggle for national liberation by the peoples of southern Africa.

This was one of the main lessons drawn by Alberto Joaquin Chipanda, Minister of Defense of Mozambique, in an interview in which he discussed the significance of the Rhodesian attacks against his country. Rhodesian intervention in Mozambique, he emphasized, actually began during FRELIMO's own struggle against Portuguese colonialism. FRELIMO is the liberation organization now in power in Mozambique.

The 38-year-old minister is a vital man with a calm reflective face and high forehead. A former school teacher, the veteran FRELIMO leader was only 22 when he survived one of the worst massacres perpetuated by the Portuguese in Mozambique. It took place June 16, 1960, in the district center of Muedo in the northern province of Cabo Delgado, which borders on Tanzania. What was supposed to have been a legitimate meeting with the provincial governor turned into a bloody shambles. The Portuguese killed more than 600 unarmed demonstrators at Muedo.

Four years later, on September 25, 1964, Chipanda led a 12-man group which attacked the administrative center in Chai, also in Cabo Delgado, and thus initiated the armed struggle that ended in victory some 10 years later. Incredibly, all 12 participants in the attack at Chai survived a decade of bitter armed struggle and today occupy important positions in Mozambique at the national and provincial levels.

When the Defense Minister was asked about Rhodesia's continuing frontier provocations against Mozambique, Chipanda replied:

"There is nothing new about Rhodesian attacks against us. As far back as 1965, the year after we launched our armed struggle, we had to defend ourselves against attacks by Rhodesian and South African troops. The racist regime in Salisbury sided with the Portuguese from the beginning. Our struggle is part of the liberation struggle for the whole of southern Africa, which (Premier) Ian Smith and his racist regime bitterly oppose.

"Rhodesian forces penetrated very deeply into our territory to help the Portuguese in their attempts to destroy our Liberation Armed Forces. These attacks grew in scope and intensity, year by year. In the Mucumbura region in Tete province, in 1971, troops of the Smith regime took part in large-scale slaughter of the local population. . ."

"Villagers whom I met in the Mucumbura area, south of the Zambezi River near the Rhodesian border, spoke of deep penetrations by Rhodesian troops who destroyed whole villages. Local guerrilla leaders also recalled punishing the marauders by ambushing Rhodesian truck convoys. The pretext for the Rhodesian invasions in the last years of the resistance struggle was the "protection" of Mozambique's huge Cabora Bassa hydro-electric construction site in Tete province. Built by Portugal with South African finance and technical help, Cabora Bassa would eventually supply electric power to Rhodesia, as well as the main beneficiary — South Africa.

"The enemy is not only Smith and his racist regime," continued Defense Minister Chipanda. "He has to be seen within the framework of reactionary international forces in the area. . . Reactionaries inside Rhodesia and abroad seek to justify Smith's attacks against us as being due to the fact that Mozambique supports the Zimbabwe freedom fighters, and because we have opened our frontiers to them and closed them to the Smith regime, in accordance with the sanctions decreed by the United Nations. The contradictions are not just between Smith and the people of Mozambique. It is between the peoples of the whole area, who want an end to colonialism and racism, and the forces of reaction, who want to perpetuate colonialist exploitation of which racism is a prominent aspect.

"At present Smith is attacking our frontiers. In so doing he wants to transfer his internal contradictions and problems abroad. He wants to divert attention from the struggle of the Zimbabwe people inside his own frontiers. He wants to put the blame on the people of Mozambique for the death of innocent people at the hands of his own security forces. He wants to discredit Mozambique on the international stage and divert the Zimbabwe people from their own struggle by his racist, nationalist maneuvers.

"Smith tries to pretend that his problems do not come from the six million Black people inside Rhodesia; that there is no armed struggle there; that his only problems come from outside, from Mozambique. We know the real situation; he knows the real situation; the people of Zimbabwe know the real situation.

"Yesterday we fought for our independence from the Portuguese. Smith fought against us. Today the people of Zimbabwe fight for their national liberation. Smith fights against them. This is a struggle against oppression. We support our brothers who today are fighting for their freedom. This is the real issue at stake between the People's Republic of Mozambique and Smith. He wants to justify his aggression against us because of the will of the Zimbabwean people to be free.

"What are the tasks of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces? Firstly, they must defend the territorial integrity of our country and the consolidation of our independence, which Smith opposes. His attacks today are a continuation of those made when he attacked our independence struggle. The role of our armed forces is to defend the sovereignty of our country, our territorial integrity and to maintain the solidarity between all peace-loving people.

"Secondly, our government has mobilized our entire people to rise up in total support for the people of Zimbabwe; and the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces are in the vanguard, both in the mobilization of the people as well as the preparation of the people in all fields."

TO BE CONTINUED

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal insitutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Intercommunal News

Economics Of Racism In South Africa

(Johannesburg, South Africa) — A cartoon in one of the newspapers here last week showed "Prime Minister" John Vorster, apron tied to his ample waist and broom in hand, greeting Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger at the door of Mr. Vorster's official residence, the *New York Times* reports.

"Excuse the mess," the "prime minister" was saying, "but the help hasn't turned up."

In homes and offices, on farms and factory floors, from one end of South Africa to the other, Whites are learning to take over menial tasks normally performed by Blacks. Recently, a three-day



Azanians are deprived of their basic economic rights.

protest strike in Johannesburg, the second in three weeks, halved the Black labor force. It was a telling demonstration of the potential that Black workers have to cripple an economy that has been underpinned for decades by an inexhaustible supply of cheap, docile and unorganized labor.

After three months of battling with heavily armed police and a death toll of more than 1,000, demonstrators in the Black "townships" evidently have decided that political power, for them, is more likely to grow out of idle lathes and abandoned brooms than the barrels of guns, which the law in any case denies them.

The scene in Johannesburg, economic hub of the country,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26



Azanian youth from the "township" of Soweto march against apartheid. Recently, Black protesters marched into downtown Johannesburg for the first time.

400 ARRESTED IN FIRST BLACK PROTEST IN WHITE AREA

1,500 AZANIANS MARCH IN JOHANNESBURG

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - Four hundred Azanians (Black South Africans) were arrested last week when the student-led anti-apartheid struggle staged a major demonstration in the heart of this city — the first time in the three months of intense political protests that Azanians have demonstrated in a White area.

Police officials said that one Azanian youth was shot by a White pedestrian and that six Whites were stabbed by the angry protesters.

The incident took place on Thursday, September 23, when 1,500 Azanians, mostly youths, marched through Johannesburg's main shopping district shouting "Black power, Black power" and carrying placards declaring, "Vorster's time is over" and "Release our people" — a reference to the continued detention without trial of Black students arrested in the initial Soweto "township" protest last June 16.

The demonstrators smashed several store windows and tossed gasoline bombs before heavily armed South African riot police attacked them with clubs.

Meanwhile, in Soweto, a witness said that five Azanians were wounded when police shot at residents at a railroad station in an effort to prevent them from boarding trains to join the downtown protest. The *New York Times* reported that one of the injured, Eliah Mokoena, said that police arrived at the railroad station and "without saying a word" fired into the crowd. A police spokesperson said, "They (Sowetans) were trying to get to Johannesburg but we stopped them and sent them home."

Leaders of South Africa's more than two million Coloreds (people of mixed racial heritage) last week met with South African "Prime Minister" John Vorster and demanded political, economic and social equality with the country's White population. The seven delegates of the Colored Representative Council told the ruling Nationalist Party leader that Colored people are no longer satisfied with being considered inferior to Whites but superior to Blacks.

They pointed out that this intolerable situation is a basic cause of the mounting political protests in Cape Town, in which at least 50 people have been killed by police and White vigilantes.

The Council delegates — who made a special demand that the apartheid regime release Rev. Alan Hendrickse, a top-ranking Colored leader who has been

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26



AGOSTINHO NETO, FIDEL CASTRO, LUIS CABRAL and SEKOU TOURE during historic meeting in Conakry, Guinea, where the three progressive leaders held intensive talks.

INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA

NETO: "OUR STRENGTH RESIDES IN THE PEOPLE"

The following is an update on the current status of the Angolan Revolution as interpreted by Agostinho Neto, president of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the People's Repbulic of Angola (PRA). The interview was conducted in mid-July by Afrique-Asie, *a French biweekly, and distributed by* People's Translation Service.

PART 3

QUESTION: The very indirect indication of an eventual withdrawal of Cuban troops has evoked commentaries and speculations of all sorts. What is the truth in this regard?

NETO: The "news" of this withdrawal was issued in such a way as to make one believe that Angola was completely outside of the issue, and that others were making the decisions in its place. People wanted to give credit to the idea that it was Cuba, Sweden or the United States which solved the problems of Angola, and not the Angolans themselves.

What is the reality of the situation? Everyone knows that I met Comrade Commander Fidel Castro at Conakry (the capital of Guinea). Everyone knows that our conversations lasted several days. Naturally we spoke of the serious problems facing Africa and the progressive world, and we established a precise plan of action.

It is obvious, with the South Africans driven out of Angola, with Zaire defeated, and with the UNITA (Union for the Total Independence of Angola) and the FNLA (Front for the National Liberation of Angola) vanquished, that it would no longer be necessary to maintain in Angola people useful for the development of their own country, nor to support thousands of soldiers in our country once it was no longer necessary to defend ourselves.

We have provided for this moment in a timetable which has been deliberately falsified by the press, but which we are respecting. They will return to their country when we no longer have need of their aid. When? Certain international opinion seems quite anxious to know.

Well, I will answer: we will no longer have need of our Cuban comrades when our armed forces are in a position to master modern military techniques. Then we will have no more need of foreign aid.

This takes time, of course. We cannot have pilots and people capable of operating anti-aircraft missiles at our disposal overnight. We cannot, I believe, count on the United States to train technical workers, any more than we can count on France, Great Britain, or other capitalist countries. Throughout our struggle, the socialist countries have been on our side, and we, for our part, will always remain on theirs.

The Cubans are helping us, certainly, but they don't have the direction of the country in their hands. Such are the speculations which have arisen in the United States and which aim at discrediting a people with which it has

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

AFRICA IN FOCUS

South Africa

A White South African journalist last week pleaded guilty to having written and distributed pamphlets for several outlawed Black organizations, including the African National Congress (ANC). David Rabkin, a copy editor for the *Argus* of Cape Town and one of 12 South African journalists arrested since Black political protests began in the country three months ago, faces a mandatory jail sentence of at least five years resulting from charges under the Terrorism Act and the Internal Security Act (ISA). Rabkin's wife and a lecturer at the University of Cape Town also pleaded guilty to ISA charges.

Zimbabwe

Freedom fighters of the Zimbabwe Liberation Army (ZILA) recently shot down a helicopter of the Rhodesian Air Force, killing a lieutenant and a sergeant, *Hsinhua* news service reports. According to military sources of the White minority government, ZILA forces staged an artillery and ground assault on a Rhodesian military camp 90 miles north of Umtali, wounding six enemy soldiers. The Black freedom fighters also attacked a government convoy escorted by Rhodesian Army troops south of Salisbury.

Nigeria

The Nigerian government has launched a system of universal free primary education, according to a recent news release of the Federal Ministry of Information reported by *Hsinhua*. Speaking at the launching ceremony, Nigerian head of state Olusegun Obasanjo said that the new system's ultimate objective is to "promote the realization of national unity, stability and progress" and that "the tempo of our sociopolitical, cultural and economic development" will be accelerated by the system. Prior to the formal opening of the program, the government approved substantial funds for the construction of thousands of new school buildings.

RURAL REVOLUTION TRANSFORMS MOZAMBIQUE'S COUNTRYSIDE

Communal Villages Established



FRELIMO guerrilla helps out in a harvest in Mozambique's Niassa province. In order to raise the quality of life, FRELIMO is organizing communal villages.

(Maputo, Mozambique) - Over 90 per cent of the Mozambican people live in the countryside.

Thus, the decision by the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) to restructure peasant life by forming communal villages is, to say the least, a very audacious undertaking, Wilfred Burchett of the *Guardian* reports.

Such villages are of utmost necessity if Mozambique is to overcome the backward state of its agriculture.

More important, the communal villages will allow the peasants to shed old ways of thinking and working. The break with old production methods will go hand in hand with a break in ideas of the past.

Like other new measures in free Mozambique, the communal village is based on experiences in the liberated zones carried out during the anticolonial war against Portugal. President Samora Machel has described the zones as a "political laboratory, a scientific laboratory, a laboratory of ideas — not just the physical liberation of territory, but liberation of mentality, liberation from a system. . ."

COMMUNAL VILLAGES

Success of the communal villages will be a test of popular confidence in FRELIMO's leadership.

Heading the program in the pilot village of Mataca is Comandante Laitone Dias, 37, a veteran of few words but great energy. When he first came to the area in 1965, his job was the "political mobilization of the people" — armed struggle. What did that mean?

"First we had to persuade people that we were really serious about armed struggle. Plenty didn't believe us. Then, not only that we were serious, but we would win. Plenty more didn't believe that. It took a long time — over a year. Those who became convinced that we would fight — and win — had then to be persuaded to abandon their villages and move back deep into the forest, away from roads and administrative centers.

"Some were convinced that we would fight, but not that we would win. They fled into neighboring Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia and Rhodesia. Others came into the forest. The armed struggle started when we ambushed Portuguese patrols trying to find where the villagers had suddenly disappeared to. . ."

Deep in the forest, the peasants had to change their method of work to collective production. To persuade them now to come out of the forest and build a new communal village is obviously child's play compared with the original "political mobilization." At Mataca, dozens of families have enthusiastically returned from war-time exile and have plunged into the work of building a new village and new life.

The first definition I heard of a communal village was during an impromptu halt on a remote road in Zambezi province. A group of people were building houses by tying poles together with strips of bark for frames that would later be plastered over with mud. They were mostly middle-aged people, their faces wrinkled and gnarled, seemingly chopped out of coal. They were barefoot and bare-chested, their trousers in tatters.

"What are you doing?" I asked, as they gathered around.

"We want to construct something good for the people."

"But what exactly?"

"A communal village."

"What does that mean?"

"It means a village where we will live together and have our own hospital, a school, a bathhouse, maternity clinic, a small orphanage, a people's shop, a water tower and a big hall for public meetings," replied a wizened, elderly man who ticked the various projects off on his fingers.

There was a burst of laughter when I asked if they didn't have any of these things before:

"For any of these things we

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

South Africa "Allows" Multiracial Sports Teams

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - In a near meaningless move, South Africa's Recreation Ministry announced last week that multiracial sports teams will be allowed to represent the apartheid state in future international sporting events.

However, at the same time, the policy statement stipulated that South African Black, White, Colored (mixed race) and Asian men and women will continue to belong to racially separated sports clubs and organize their own sporting events.

South Africa's critics comment that this move was made only as a means for South Africa to re-enter the international sporting arena, particularly the Olympics, from which the country has been banned because of its deep-rooted racist domestic policies. The recent Olympics boycott organized by Black African nations was triggered by the fact that New Zealand, an Olympics competitor, sent a rugby team to South Africa in the wake of the bloody Soweto uprising which took the lives of over 1,000 Azanians (Black South Africans).

PEASANTS VS. AGRIBUSINESS

Bloody Land War Mounts In Northern Mexico

(Culiacan, Mexico) - The rich coastal valleys of Northwest Mexico — farmed by U.S. agribusiness giants in partnership with Mexican landowners to produce half the fresh winter vegetables consumed annually in the U.S. — have turned into fever-pitched, blood-stained battle grounds.

On one side are thousands of landless farm workers, the dispossessed products of the introduction of agricultural technology, who have occupied more than 60,000 acres of land throughout Mexico that they claim are rightfully theirs.

Their target: The powerful agribusiness interests who control the more than $100-million-a-year Mexican vegetable export industry.



Militant farmworkers on strike.

So far most of the "invaders," armed only with ancient 30-30s dating from the Mexican revolution, have staunchly stood their ground despite a mounting death toll. More than 100 have been killed by soldiers, police or ranchers in the past year.

Their desperation is rooted in the ever-increasing centralization of modern agriculture — with small farmers being replaced by corporate giants — that now also dominates rural America.

In bringing modern corporate farming to Mexico, California and Arizona companies have helped transform the states of Sinaloa and Sonora into fertile farmlands much like the Salinas and Imperial valleys of California.

Ford and John Deere tractors plow the earth; crop dusters sweep down covering the fields of tomatoes, cucumbers and pep-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

Neto: "Our Strength Resides In The People"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18
had a great dispute.

Cuba is a small country which has held American imperialism in check, something which the latter country will never forget. Once more, with the assistance of Cuba, the United States has been held in check in Angola. These are two thorns in the side of the U.S.

Q: What is the state of Angola's relations with Portugal? Concerning this question, in the West, the emphasis has been placed on the confiscation and nationalization of property in Angola. But, independent of the past, the disputed claims are much wider. What are the conditions under which the People's Republic of Angola (PRA) will normalize its relations with Portugal? And how far exactly have the confiscations and nationalizations proceeded?

NETO: These are two different questions. As far as the relations between the two countries are concerned, I remind you once again that the Angolan people have always hoped that preferential relations would be established between Portugal and Angola. In spite of the injustice of the situation prior to November 11, and even though the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of lives was necessary in order to wrest independence from Portugal, the history which we have experienced together has made us feel that it is possible for us to have relations with Portugal. And it is towards this goal that we are proceeding.



Members of an MPLA women's brigade proudly march in Luanda parade.

The Portuguese authorities, however, have not understood the political phenomenon which took shape in Angola. They hesitated and allowed themselves to be carried away by their prejudices; they did not recognize the PRA, and when it was proclaimed on November 11, they abandoned the country in a disgraceful manner, without handing over to us everything they should have at the moment of independence. Recently, a virulent campaign has been unleashed against Angola in the Portuguese press. Finally, there have been cases of physical aggression against citizens of Angola in Portugal.

We find this unusual, and difficulties have emerged concerning the establishment of relations with Portugal. We have endeavored to explain our position, but it seems that certain political forces in Portugal are not yet open to beginning a dialogue with us. We are waiting, however, for the Portuguese leaders to decide; all the while remaining prepared for the establishment of relations, which, I believe, will occur soon. Besides, which of the two countries is more active in the direction of resumption of relations?

TO BE CONTINUED

WORLD SCOPE

Vietnam

The U.S. has persuaded the United Nations Security Council to postpone its vote on the admission of Vietnam to the world body. President Ford instructed the chief U.S. delegate to the U.N., William Scranton, to veto Vietnam's admission, allegedly because "no progress" has been made in getting a full accounting of American servicemen missing since the Vietnam war. Denouncing the decision, the Vietnamese government accused Ford of a "maneuver to blatantly distort the truth" and said that the President's "real concern" is on winning the election.

Palestine

The Political Committee of the Arab League, meeting in Cairo, Egypt, recently unanimously approved the acceptance of Palestine as a full member of the organization. A flag-raising ceremony was held that was attended by Arab League Secretary General Mahmoud Riad, Tunisian Foreign Minister and current Arab League Chairman, Habib Al Shatti, and a member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Abdul Mohsen Abu Mezer.

Jamaica

Jamaica celebrated its fourteenth anniversary of formal independence from Great Britain recently, while continuing to fight imperialist designs to determine its destiny.

In his independence message Jamaica's progressive Prime Minister Michael Manley argued that "the collective spirit of the people of Jamaica is rising to meet the challenge to remove every trace of oppression and exploitation from our society."

Over 250,000 of Jamaica's population of two million turned out for various public events on August 2. The island's largest celebration was held in its capital, Kingston, where some 20,000 performers retold the nation's history of struggle.

Among the 20,000 performers were some of the Caribbean's greatest artists — Jamaican Jimmy Cliff singing "Many Rivers to Cross," Trinidad's "King of the Calypso," the Mighty Chalkdust, and Cuba's Fara Maria.

ENTERTAINMENT

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE SEEKS COMMUNITY-MINDED ARTISTS

(Oakland, Calif.) - Voice of the People Records and Publishers, a newly formed independent, Black-owned and operated local company, is actively seeking musicians and other artists who desire to use their talents for the benefits of the community.

Jeff Jones, Steven "Jody" Mitchell and Raymond Vega recently talked to THE BLACK PANTHER about their plans to form an alliance of community businesses that would enable Bay Area artists to begin working together for a common purpose in the arts — getting exposure for artists while at the same time generating funds that would remain in the community.

"We're talking about pooling our energies — a commonwealth of human energy — with a limited amount of funds," Jeff explained. A talented composer/musician and leader of the well known Oakland group People's People, Jeff is critical of artists who take the community's money but do nothing in return for the people who faithfully support them by purchasing their records or attending their concerts. Voice of the People has put on numerous benefits whose profits have been donated to community service groups.

WEALTH OF TALENT

Jeff pointed out that there is "a wealth of talent" in the Bay Area that no one knows about, partly because they are not "soul" artists. He said that it is very difficult for musicians who are not "soul" performers to receive recognition in the Bay Area.


BPINS photo

JEFF JONES, RAYMOND VEGA and STEVEN MITCHELL discuss the direction of Voice of the People Records and Pubishers in recent interview at THE BLACK PANTHER office.

Although he is not opposed to "soul" music, Jeff believes that it has some negative characteristics and wants to see other music forms given "equal representation. Give them (the community) something real to guide them," he emphasized. "Their minds are too polluted with garbage."

If, as Jeff said, "music is directed towards the problems of the Black community," Steven feels that "the people will recognize what's good; they have the right ideas in their hearts." Steven remarked that artists can help to continue the progress the Black liberation struggle has made. "We cannot afford to stagnate," he added.

Raymond has the primary responsibility for recruiting and training the artists for Voice of the People productions such as concerts and plays. An upcoming project of the company is the production of a play entitled *Outside* which will be presented on KQED's (Channel 9's) "Open Studio" in the near future. The play is the story of an artist and his struggle for survival. Jeff wrote the screenplay, and Steven the poetry that appears throughout the drama. Steven, who heads his own small company, P&M Productions, is the author of an absorbing book of poetry called *Subtle Insanity*.

In the next 60 days, an exciting album entitled *The Spirit of David* will go on sale. This Voice of the People production features a variety of music and was recorded — without alterations — in a remarkable 55 minutes. In addition to Jeff on tenor sax and Raymond on congas and percussion, other musicians whose talents are utilized on *The Spirit of David* are Leonard Franklin, lead guitar; Emmons Porter, base guitar; Jack Zvinovich, drums; and Steve Espinosa, electric piano.

ALL PEOPLE

While Black-owned and operated, Voice of the People Records and Publishers is interested in the talents of all people who, as Jeff says, are "just trying to live and enjoy themselves as long as they can." Anyone interested in contributing their talents to the organization may contact Jeff Jones at 1744 82nd Avenue, Oakland, Calif. 94621, telephone (415) 632-8561. Copies of *Subtle Insanity* may be purchased for $1.00 and can be secured by writing Steven Mitchell, 1022 E. 28th Street, #5, Oakland, telephone 534-1364.



For George

They say you're gone. . .but I don't believe them.
They even say you're dead. . .but I think they're lying.

Each morning I wake to your soft — strong — warm face smiling at me from behind a frame
I can't help but laugh out loud and say
Good Morning beautiful Black man. . . . .
I Love you. . .
I am strong for you today. . . .
And then I go and leave you all alone.

One day before you knew — I tiptoed in and caught you unaware. . .You were crying.
Your smile had faded.
Your tears of joy — sorrow — pain had spilled onto the floor — but when I blinked you were SMILING AGAIN.
I pretended not to see and instead, kissed your lovely face.
You thought you had fooled me, but I know you really didn't much.

They say you're dead, but I think they're jiving. . .

George Jackson lives

M'cheko
Oakland, California

America!

America!
You fooled the hell
out of me with your
die-hard love wrapped
mummy tight around spears
of deceit.
You spit upon my aims
and drowned my ambitions
in seas of want and need.
When I tore your hymen
I should have driven my
searching stake through
your vampire's heart and
dared your ghost to breathe!. . .

Hasib Muqsit
Va. State Penitentiary

Bloody Land War Mounts In Northern Mexico

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

pers with Niagra and Dow Chemicals.

Just since 1964, vegetable imports from Mexico have jumped from $36 million to over $100 million annually.

But in the process, small independent farmers and peasants who can't afford to invest in modern technology have been forced out of business and off their lands, often leasing them to large growers and hiring themselves out as farm workers.

In Sinaloa, for example, where corporate farming has developed most quickly, 85 families now control nearly one-quarter (298,-000 acres) of the irrigated lands; which between 1960 and 1970 the number of landless farm workers doubled to 126,000.

The result has been a mushrooming seasonal migrant work force — now numbering 350,000 — faced with long periods of unemployment and squalid living conditions.

BEAT-UP CARS

The migrants, some in beat-up cars, most on trains and buses, move north each year up the coast for the vegetable harvest in Sinaloa and Sonora, then on to the fall harvest in Sonora and Baja, California. Many then continue to winter work in the California asparagus fields.

In Mexico, the migrants either construct their own temporary camps of cardboard, tin and tar-paper or sleep outside in their cotton picking bags or tomato bin. Outhouses are built by the growers on stilts over the open canals — the same canals that supply the workers' drinking and bathing water.

The average daily wage in the northwest is a little over $2.50 for those who work part of the year on their own plots of land, and closer to $5.00 for the year-round workers.

But given Mexico's rate of inflation, the workers' buying power is actually lower now than in 1972.

Hundreds of families, unable to find work on the ranches, follow the cotton trucks down the highway, gathering the fiber that blows off the trucks and trying to sell it to middlemen.

These are the conditions that have produced the wave of land occupations. In Sinaloa alone, there have been 76 land invasions in the past year, many of which remain unresolved.

One recent target in Sinaloa was a small section of the 17,000-acre spread owned in partnership by Nogales, Arizona, distributor James K. Wilson and Mexican grower Benjamin Bustamante.



U.S. agribusiness powers exert strong control over farming in Mexico through partnership with large landowners.

According to the Mexican secretary of agrarian reform, the squatters themselves held long-standing rights under Mexican land reform law to this and two million other acres of Sinaloa land, nonetheless controlled by large land owners.

One worker on the ranch explained the squatters' desperation after years of legal litigation: "What is the only road open to us? To take the land by force, work the land. If the gringos want to go home, let them go. They can't take the land, and that is what we want."

Faced with the prospect of a thousand small rebellions breaking out in the countryside, the Mexican government attempted to calm the angry squatters last year by distributing some land it expropriated from one of the large Sonora growers.

But in December, 1975, the landowners of Sonora and Sinaloa organized an industry-wide work stoppage to protest the expropriations. Three thousand growers suddenly moved hundreds of tractors from the fields onto the highways and streets.

"We are tired of promises, leaders and labor bureaucrats," declared the leader of one land occupation in Sonora. "The politicians we only see during the campaign, and later we only know they exist from their photographs. . .From here we will only be removed to the cemetery."

(We thank Ed McCaughan and Peter Baird, staff members of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), for this information.)☐

Rural Revolution In Mozambique

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

had to walk nine miles on foot to Namacurra (the nearest district center). If we carried someone who was seriously ill, we had to wait for hours at the hospital until all the Whites had been treated, even if they only had sore fingers."

A group of 50 represented the "construction brigade" for that particular week; other brigades were out harvesting rice. This year, they still had individual fields; next season they would have big cooperative fields. Even now the fields were being worked and harvested collectively.

This was only three months after the FRELIMO Central Committee adopted a decree to push ahead with the formation of communal villages. The idea seemed to have struck root quickly in pioneer resistance areas I visited such as Niassa and Zambezi provinces.

TO BE CONTINUED

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Thousands March In Memorial For Slain Chilean Diplomat

(Washington, D.C.) - Thousands marched down stately Embassy Row here to St. Matthew's Cathedral last Saturday, September 25, in a dramatic memorial to mourn the murder of ex-Chilean foreign minister Orland Letelier and his associate, Ronni Moffitt.

Letelier, 44, had served as a member of the cabinet of deposed Chilean President Salvador Allende and subjected to two years of torture and imprisonment after Allende's socialist government was overthrown by a CIA-financed plot in 1973. Along with Ms. Moffitt, who was 25, Letelier worked with the progressive Institute for Policy Studies in Washington.

Both were killed instantly when a bomb hidden in the car they were riding in exploded while they drove down Embassy Row last Tuesday. Ms. Moffitt's husband, Michael, was thrown from the car when the blast occurred.

At St. Matthew's Cathedral, folk singer Joan Baez led everyone in a tearful song while Bishop James Rausch, general secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, led the burial mass. Bishop Rausch termed the bombing "calculated, planned and selective."

Speaking at the funeral, Senator George McGovern blasted the ruthlessness of the U.S.-supported Chilean government, denouncing the "grisly gang now dictating events in Chile." Mrs. Hortensia Allende, the wife of the slain Marxist president, declared that Letelier had fallen under "the merciless persecution of Chilean fascism."

"Orlando Letelier," Mrs. Allende said, "is a banner that will not be lowered."

In one of the most moving moments of the memorial service, Michael Moffitt stood on the church's altar and declared: "If the purpose of the junta and its henchmen was to silence the voice that speaks to free Chile . . .they have not silenced that voice. . .They have multiplied it a hundredfold."

SPORTS

MARTIAL ARTS

Cadence

Speed, regulated to coincide (happening at or almost at the same time) with that of an opponent, is known as "cadence." It is the specific rhythm at which a series of attacking or defending movements is executed. A correctly judged cadence permits the calm control of every stroke. This control will allow the fighter to select, with more ease, the movements of offense and defense which will bring about a successful hit, counter hit or body evasion.

Remember, that to land an attack the defense has to be penetrated and avoided. Excessive speed can catch up with an opponent's parries (blocks/evasions designed to change the path of an attack). The attacker is then known as "having parried himself."

Ideally, a fighter (a fighter is basically a technician of body movements and their necessary and practical responses) seeks to impose his cadence on an opponent. This may be achieved by intentionally changing the cadence of his own movements. For example, the fighter can deliberately establish a certain rhythm in his feints in a compound attack (using multiple hand/foot movements in a series or "flurry") until the defender is motorset to follow that cadence.

By obtaining an advantage of speed (either through initial movement or faster reflex action) on an opponent, the fighter may lead him. In other words, it is the opponent who continually will have to try to catch up. If one has a sufficient speed advantage (a rarity these days), it is possible to maintain this advantage. To do so would have a demoralizing effect on the opponent who, finding himself subjected to his opponent's will in this important factor of speed, cannot fail to suffer in his confidence.

The preparation by a series of false attacks and feints, executed at a normal rhythm, has the effect of lulling the opponent into a false sense of preparedness. It accustoms his reactions to a cadence other than that which will be used for the real attack itself. Then, the movements making up the final attack are suddenly accelerated and more likely to find the opponent under pressure.

BLACKLISTED FOR FIGHT AGAINST RESERVE CLAUSE

CURT FLOOD DOESN'T WANT TO COACH FIRST BASE

(Oakland, Calif.) - Former baseball great Curt Flood, the Black outfielder who rebelled against baseball's "reserve clause" five years ago, is now living here unemployed and almost forgotten after being blackballed by baseball's hierarchy.

Flood, in a *New York Times* interview, explained how his fight against the world of professional baseball began.

"I played for 12 years in St. Louis," he said. ". . .If I had worked for the Pacific Gas and Electric Company for 12 years, they'd have given me a watch, a nice gold watch. . .

"But," as Flood explained, "they called me on the telephone and they said, 'We just traded you for Richie Allen (of the Philadelphia Phillies).' And the guy hung up."

PHILLIES

Instead of reporting to the Phillies, Flood took his case to court, challenging baseball's much disputed "reserve clause," the contract Catch-22 which formerly bound a player to one team for life. However, Flood lost the case in a divided Supreme Court decision and was kept out of baseball because of his bold stance.

Just this year, Andy Messersmith and Dave McNally challenged the "reserve clause" and won, enabling them to bargain as free agents, when their contracts expired, with the team of their choice. However, Curt Flood was the first to stand up and demand freedom for himself and his fellow baseball players.

"What I did then," says Flood, "is relative today only because it happens that other people have benefited by it and that's cool. These guys are making more money and deservedly so. . . What happened five years ago is significant in only one respect, that it gave the ballplayer a chance to think, 'What am I worth. . .Do I have to spend the rest of my life in servitude to this one person?' "

However, one fact which bothers Flood is the lack of support he received from fellow baseball players. While in court, he explains, "Not one baseball player who was playing at the time came to see what was going on."

After losing his celebrated case, Flood left the country — and his $100,000 salary (which was high for that period of time) — and went to the Spanish island of Majorca where he ran a bar for five years. He is now living in Oakland, his hometown, in an apartment next to his 90-year-old mother. Just recently he survived a near-fatal injury that fractured his skull.

"The ability just to get up and do nothing is a delight for me," said Flood. "I can't afford to do it, but. . .I live well enough," he went on. "It's a little difficult to find a job for a used center fielder.

"What would they (baseball) do with me? You have to understand I sued all of them," Flood remarked in the interview, commenting that baseball doesn't go out of its way for ex-ballplayers, especially Blacks.

"I would like to find a place for myself," Flood revealed, "and unfortunately I think it's going to be back in baseball in some capacity or another, except I don't want to stand on first base and say, 'Don't get picked off.' "

"There must be," Flood reasoned, "a place where they have young kids that could use what's inside my skull. I've got 20 years of playing baseball inside my head, 20 years of playing with some of the greatest athletes who ever played the game."□



Baseball great CURT FLOOD.

The Black Family Revisited

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Negro people." A "tangle of pathology" with a disorganized family life "at its center" began then, continued for more than two centuries, and bred a "deviant culture."

Liberals and conservatives, social scientists prominent among them, accepted this version of Afro-American lower-class history as fact. In part, that consensus rested upon E. Franklin Frazier's influential *The Negro Family in the United States* (1939). Scattered evidence convinced Mr. Frazier that enslavement destroyed all African family and kinship beliefs and that only privileged slaves ("the favored few") could sustain "normal" family life. For the rest — mostly field hands and common laborers — the "matriarchal family" prevailed, accompanied them into freedom and rural poverty, and traveled with their migrant children to Northern cities and urban poverty.

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

Fresh historical evidence is reason to discard this misreading of the lower-class Afro-American historical experience. Most slave field hands and common laborers did not live in "maternal families." Evidence left by thousands of ex-slaves in 1865 and 1866 indicates the following:

- Depending upon their location, between three-fourths and five-sixths of ex-slave households contained either a married couple or two parents and their children.
- Among thousands of ex-slaves registering marriages, about one in four had lived with the same mate for 10 to 19 years, and another one in five for 20 or more years.

There were not the experiences of the "favored few." About nine in ten describing their families and marriages had been slave field hands and common laborers.

Historical evidence always is subject to misinterpretation. These ex-slaves did not say they had merely been forced into long marriages by owners. Owners everywhere allowed slave spouses to separate at will. Nor did they say they had been decently treated. Owners had broken up about one in six marriages by sale or force. And the separation of children — usually teenagers — had divided even more families.

Most important, this evidence



Pre-Civil War photo of Black slaves in a Georgia cotton field.

does not explain why so many ordinary slaves lived in such families and so many slave marriages lasted so long.

But what they showed demonstrates that the origins of late 20th-century urban Black poverty and the suffering associated with it are not found in the inability of slave field hands and common laborers to maintain durable families. That is the message from these thousands of ex-slaves.

The slave Abream Scriven — sold from his Georgia rice plantation wife in 1858 — illuminates its meaning. "*My dear Wife,*" he wrote her afterward, "*I take the pleasure of writing you these few (lines) with much regret to inform you that I have been sold. Give my love to my dear father & mother and tell them good Bye for me. . .My Dear Wife for you and all my children my pen cannot express the griffe (grief) I feel to be parted from you. I remain your truly husband until Death.*"

Scriven's letter together with these data about slave families and marriages direct attention to re-examining the adaptive processes by which the parents and grandparents (Africans among them) of ex-slaves had forged distinctive Afro-American domestic arrangements. This is what Frederick Douglass suggested in writing, "To understand. . .a man must stand under."□

Blacks Announce Grove–Shafter Victory

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

". . .I think that if they do not keep their part of the bargain, the people of this city will not understand. I certainly will be one of the people out there encouraging them not to show any understanding about their city officials if the people don't get any jobs out of this."

PAUL COBB: "The gaps that still are left to be filled concern an affirmative action program. There needs to be a firm commitment and policy statement from the Oakland City Council that goes on record supporting affirmative action guidelines for Oakland residents, a majority of Oakland residents.

"We favor the kind of language embodied in the recent Port agreement with its tenants: 75 per cent of all employees of future Port tenants must live in the city of Oakland. We feel that it is a fair and equitable policy to apply to the tenants of the future shopping center.

"We also feel work needs to be done in the area of minority equity participation in the stores. . .

". . .A significant thing is that the people sitting here today were intimately involved in lawsuits, plaintiffs that held up the Grove-Shafter. Out of those legal actions there's the City Center Housing Corporation that Elaine Brown is involved with and the Grove-Shafter Replacement Housing Corporation that Elijah Turner and I are involved with. . .

"The state has given the Oakland community over $5



The completion of Oakland's City Center Project (shaded area) hinges on the completion of the Grove-Shafter Freeway.

million to compensate for housing for senior citizens and for those removed as a result of the Grove-Shafter tearing up West Oakland.

"Now it's up to the city to carry through. Ballot measures P, Q and R (measures related to housing construction in the November 2 elections) are intimately involved. If they are not passed, the money for the replacement housing will not be released."

ELIJAH TURNER: ". . .The burden now rests on the mayor and the City Council. . .They must take a serious look at the things that have happened in the last few months. As we had the power to stop the Grove-Shafter, we had the power to start it, and we also have the power to stop it again if they go crazy. . ."

JOHN GEORGE: ". . .A new kind of sharing of power is emerging that ought to be included in the Oakland Council on Economic Development (OCED). When elected, I would create an Alameda County Council on Economic Development to cooperate in the effort to look for more jobs.

"The OCED cannot operate as it is presently constituted. The emerging forces have to be brought into this if the city of Oakland is going to do something good for the people."

Dick Clark, a representative of Grubb and Ellis, the major contractors for the City Center project, was also at the press conference. "We owe you four and Lionel Wilson a debt of gratitude," Clark said.□

"Let's Make A Deal"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

Nothing appeared on network news that night, or on the next night, or the night after that. The next morning the *New York Times* ran nothing. The *Washington Post* did a brief story but buried it well into its business section, setting the allegations against Mobil's quick and expected denial.

A short 600-word version of the PBC-Mobil charges went out on *UPI*'s low priority B-wire but then apparently never moved up to the all-important A-wire, where local editors would be more likely to notice it and realize the scope and seriousness of the charges. The *Washington Star* ran a story, but its readership is far less than the influential *Post's*. At *Time* and *Newsweek*, mum was the word.

What had gone wrong?

EXCITING CHARGES

Time's Don Sider says that he filed his story, but that a decision not to run it was made in New York. "They were highly exciting charges," he admits, "but I also filed a strong caveat (warning) with my editors — the documents we were given at the press conference were complex, and we had no way of knowing whether they were real or not.

"I invested several hours in the story, talked with the Justice Department and others, but my heart just wasn't set on it, and we just don't have a month for tracking undocumented charges," he said.

Grayson Mitchell, a young Black man, had just finished his first month with the Washington bureau of the *Los Angeles Times*. Like Sider, he filed; his story never ran either. Why?

"I don't know — maybe they didn't have space, and of course these were heavy allegations. There was no real way to substantiate them without going to southern Africa."

On the same day as the press conference, PBC turned over its documentation to the Treasury Department, the House and Senate committees on Africa, and Senator Frank Church's subcommittee on multinationals. Suddenly, almost six weeks after the press conference, the *New York Times* finally broke the story, announcing that the Treasury had begun its own investigation of the PBC charges.

But a week after the *Times* story, the news was still not spreading. Neither *Time* nor *Newsweek* bothered to pick up the story. The networks chose to continue to ignore it.

CONTINUED IN LAST COLUMN

Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

GETHERS/BROWN FRAME-UP

Craemen is physically isolated from the student community. Amherst-Northhampton is a predominantly White student area with a liberal-radical reputation. The evidence against both Earl and Craemen was so obviously racist, so obviously false, that neither Earl, Craemen, the Black or White community could really believe that they would be convicted till it happened. As time goes on, and the truth of this area's racism is more and more exposed, a better and stronger defense will be built to free both of these brothers.

Craemen Gethers used to live down the hall in my dorm. He is in prison now purely because he is Black, and because he couldn't afford the kind of defense everyone deserves. Until this happened, he, like most people here probably still believed in the liberal facade of this area and this country. (Even during the hearing for retrial the judge refused to remove Craemen's handcuffs so he could take notes. All this one minute away from elite Smith College.) Craemen now needs all the strength, spirit and hope he can get from all others who are struggling in similar situations — while he awaits the next appeal. Please send Craemen a Panther subscription and when the defense committee sends articles, please print them. (I am not currently on the committee so this is not an official letter.) I think your paper is the best of its kind in this country. I've been reading it for two years and time and again it keeps me alive.

Love,
Robin Rich
Holyoke, Mass.

GEORGIA INMATE SEEKS LAWYER

Dear Editor:

Many greetings and I do hope that you are well upon receipt of this letter. Enclosed please find a copy of the latest case (ending censorship of his mail) I have won in my quest for justice within the walls of this racist prison. You will find the bottom of two pages torn off. This was done prior to my receipt of the same. However, you are not missing anything with reference to the case, only some legal citations concerning some other matter.

Although I have won this suit I have, because of the racist practices cast upon me by this racist prison, lost the help of the one female, the reason whom I initially filed this suit for, that was helping me. I therefore need all of your help in placing my address in the paper stating that I desire to correspond with any young woman or person who will attempt to help me secure my freedom.

This battle I am fighting is twofold. On the one hand I am fighting for my freedom and on the other hand I am fighting for equality while I am incarcerated by these racist crackers who control this prison.

I must say that all of the brothers here are awaiting the court's ruling on us receiving your paper. I say this because your paper offers to us and any Black man a nonreligious yet relative concept of our world and of the magnitude of the problems that are continually keeping us as a people down.

Let me stress to you, brother, that I need help because I need a lawyer, and no lawyer will take my case free as you know. So all of your help in placing my plight in the paper will be appreciated enormously.

The address I need you to place in your paper must be as follows: Rev. Dr. Bobby Hardwick D-2210, 123 East Hall Street, Augusta, Ga. 30901.

Once again, thank you and I remain
Rev. Dr. Bobby Hardwick

CONTINUE "TELLING IT LIKE IT IS"

Dear Black Panther,

I received my first issue (8/28) of your paper today and am most thankful that you added my name to your subscription list. I have not read it yet — but I'm sure I'll find it informative/instructive. Also, I intend to share your paper with others here, so that you may keep them abreast with what's happening today also. Once again thank you and please continue telling your people like it is.

Very cordially,
Jasper Lynch
Camp H
Angola, La. 70712

CONTINUED FROM FIRST COLUMN

Meanwhile oil keeps flowing northward to Rhodesia.

Mobil Oil, through its public relations office, first denied all allegations, then attacked the PBC as an extremist group. In a letter not yet made public however, Rawleigh Warner, Jr., Mobil chairperson, now apparently considers the charges serious enough to send a high-level Mobil team to Africa to conduct an "independent investigation."

PBC isn't quite sure why Mobil needs to go to Africa, since the three top officials allegedly involved — the president, executive vice-president and vice-president for planning of Mobil International — are all in New York.□

Behind The Smile

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

Plains, but we shouldn't encourage him." Why not? The networks and other reporters have been there. "Moyers understands small towns. He'll figure out it's a company town. The Carters own everything; everyone works for them; the wages are as low as Jackson says."

A pause before the punch line: "Carter can say he lives in an integrated neighborhood in the same sense Thomas Jefferson did at Monticello." Laughter.

Back in my room, I remembered the last four days on a legal pad. I thought about the pluses. Carter was easy to write for if I skirted certain subjects and softened the hard edges of issues.

Carter was close to the Presidency; I was probably as close to the White House as I ever could be. But I couldn't strike the bargain. There was one minus that couldn't be balanced off — Carter himself. Bright perhaps brilliant, maybe the best campaigner of my lifetime — but he wasn't the candidate I went to work for, the President I wanted to help elect.

It took me 18 more hours to do it, but at 5:00 p.m. I left a resignation letter to Carter with Jody Powell, took a cab to 30th Street Station in Philadelphia and in a last, small extravagance before unemployment, bought a first-class ticket on the Metroliner to Washington.

A week afterward, the day before the D.C. primary, I stopped in a High's dairy store on Foxhall Road to buy a pack of cigarettes. On the counter, I noticed a stack of Carter campaign literature. Carter was quoted: "If I ever tell a lie, make a misleading statement, or betray your trust, don't support me."□

Economics Of Racism In South Africa

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

gave a foretaste of the disaster the corporate barons wish to avert. Building sites stood idle, textile plants barely ticked over, delivery trucks sat in rows outside warehouses.

The extent to which the country's 4.2 million Whites have been sustained by the labor of its 18 million Blacks is starkly apparent in the government's own statistics, which suggest that scarcely any sector of the economy could function for long without Black workers. Of the 4.9 million fulltime workers registered last year, slightly over half, 2.7 million, were Black, 1.5 million were White, 526,740 were of mixed race, and 181,066 were Asian.

The dominant role played by Blacks is more evident from the industry-by-industry breakdown. In gold mining, the pillar of the economy, the labor force of 380,091 included 341,575 Blacks. Figures for other sectors show a similar ratio: coal mining, 190,596 (134,012); construction, 446,086 (309,094); textiles, 97,628 (66,939); and food processing, 159,577 (103,286). Only in the public sector were the averages significantly lower: In public service, 461,948 (178,530); and the railways, 244,892 (113,406).

Figures for income by the various race groups show a huge disproportion. Whites, constituting 30.6 per cent of the fulltime labor force, earned 68.2 per cent of the wages and salaries in 1973. Blacks, 55 per cent of the labor force, earned 21.1 per cent.

BLACK INCOMES

The government asserts that Black incomes have risen much faster in recent years than Whites.' Between 1970 and 1975, the real earnings of Whites increased only 1.3 per cent, compared with 8 per cent for Blacks. However, the effort to close a gap which had been progressively widening until the late 1960s made only a minor impact on the disparities.

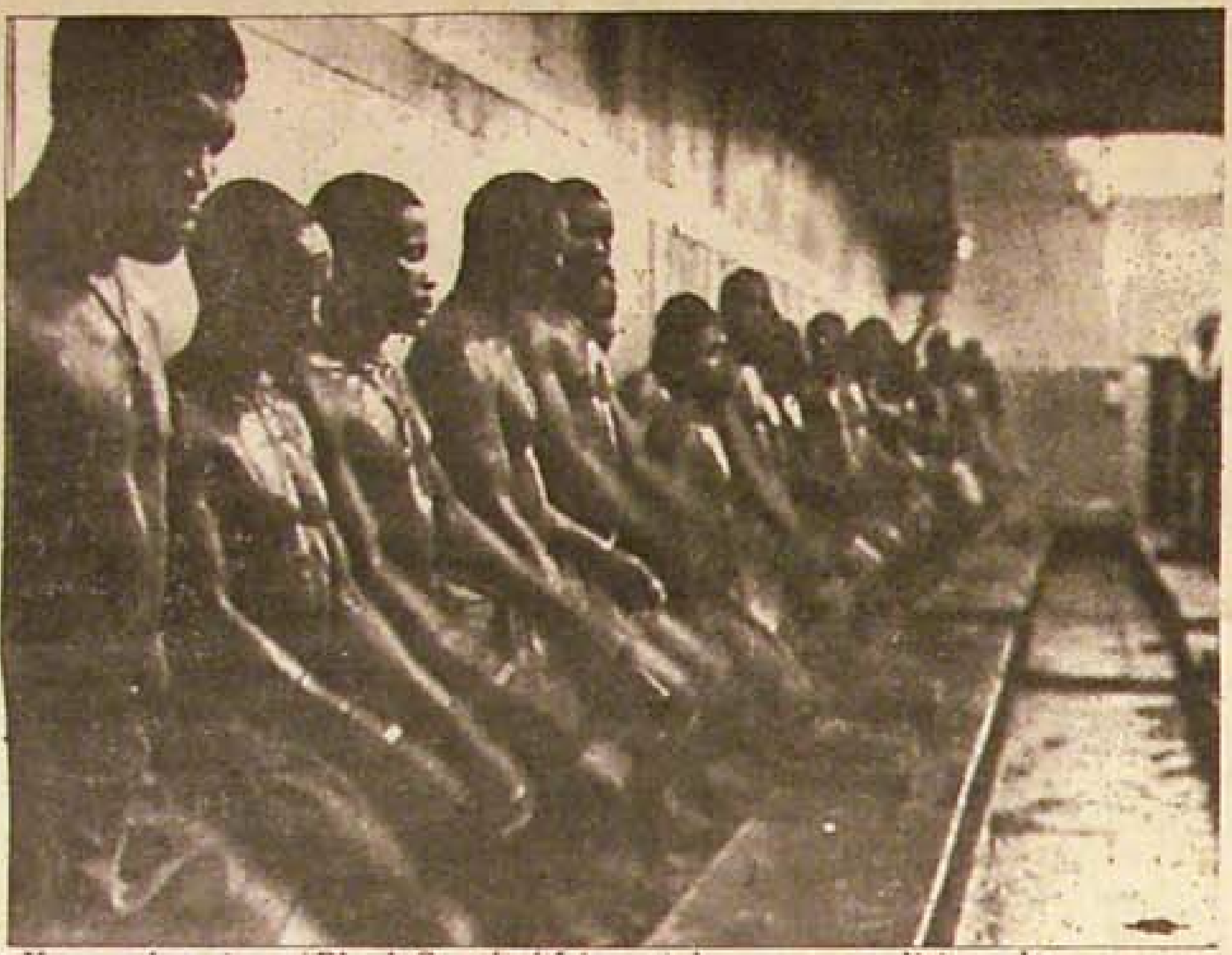
Average annual income among urban Whites is estimated to be about $6,000; among urban Blacks, most of whom are restricted to unskilled work, between $860 and $1,600. In June skilled workers in the construction industry, almost all White, were earning an average of $122 a week; unskilled workers, almost all Black, $39. What this means can be judged by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce's estimate that the subsistence income for a family in Soweto in May, 1975, was $136 a month.

With only 5.6 million Blacks living in urban areas, less than a third, a truer picture of the bleak economic circumstances in which most Blacks live is given by figures for those living in the countryside. In 1973, the average annual income among Black farm laborers was $250. But an equal number of Blacks were living, if barely, off their own meager plots, earning less than $100 a year. In the tribal homelands, where nearly 8 million Blacks live, the vast majority live outside the cash economy altogether, grazing cattle and bartering as their forebears did.

While they support other reforms, industrial executives are candid about their reasons for opposing wider unionization among Blacks. In many sectors, especially mining, employers claim that the rapid wage increases of the past five years have already driven their profit margins dangerously low.

GOLD MINING

In gold mining, where experienced Black miners can earn up to $200 a week, less than half the $552 minimum paid to Whites working underground, a decision to equalize minimum pay scales for the two groups would, industry experts say, bankrupt at least 16 of the 42 mines now in operation. The same is probably true for many other industries, especially when the plunging gold price has driven business into the depths of a recession. □



Young Azanians (Black South Africans) become conditioned to severe mine temperatures in a "sweat box." Black labor is the foundation of the apartheid state's economy.

Johannesburg March

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

incarcerated without any charges for almost a month — left a statement with Vorster which said, in part: "There is little chance of a peaceful future unless all groups cooperate to eliminate the present reciprocal lack of understanding and trust between race groups."

COLORED OFFICIALS

The Colored officials said that after the talks Vorster maintained his government's stubborn insistence that apartheid would continue, stating "in no uncertain terms there would be no sharing of power by the Whites."

The hard line of the government has brought South Africa's Colored population increasingly closer to the 18 million Azanians in the country. David Curry, a deputy leader of the predominantly Colored Labor Party, said after the meeting with Vorster, "With our grievances unheeded, it is not difficult for us to identify ourselves with the Black man's grievances."

In another development last week, the Christian Institute of Southern Africa charged that government response to the Black political protests has taken South Africa dangerously closer toward becoming a police state.

The introduction of the 42-page report of the Institute, which includes statistics on political detentions and trials, said, in part: "The facts presented in this report tend to justify rather than mitigate the serious question of whether South Africa is now perhaps an 'incomplete' police state, if in fact not a police state in the full sense of the word." □

Frontline Presidents Reject Kissinger Plan For Rhodesia

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

send an advisory team to Zimbabwe to oversee the transition period.

Meanwhile, William D. Rogers, U.S. under-secretary for Economic Affairs, Sir Anthony Duff, Britain's senior Foreign Office official in charge of African affairs, and, as yet, unnamed South African officials are scheduled to meet in Washington next week to work out details of the international trust fund. The two Western powers and South Africa are intent on getting Whites to remain in Zimbabwe and plan to offer them substantial economic motives to insure that they do so.

The African leaders' failure to totally endorse the Kissinger initiative was a grave blow to Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy." President Ford jubilantly — and prematurely — proclaimed on Friday, after Smith announced acceptance of the plan, that "a threat to world peace has been eased" through "the skillful and energetic diplomacy we have pursued."

For his part, Smith let it be known in his nationwide television address that Kissinger had put severe pressure on the White minority regime to accept Black majority rule. "I would be dishonest if I did not state quite clearly that the proposals which were put to us in Pretoria (South Africa) do not represent what in our view would be the best solution for Rhodesia's problems. Regrettably, we were not able to make our views prevail. . ." He added that there is "much that cannot be disclosed in public." □



Zimbabweans militantly denounce racist Ian Smith regime.



FROM GRANMA